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TEXT BOOK

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION

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BY

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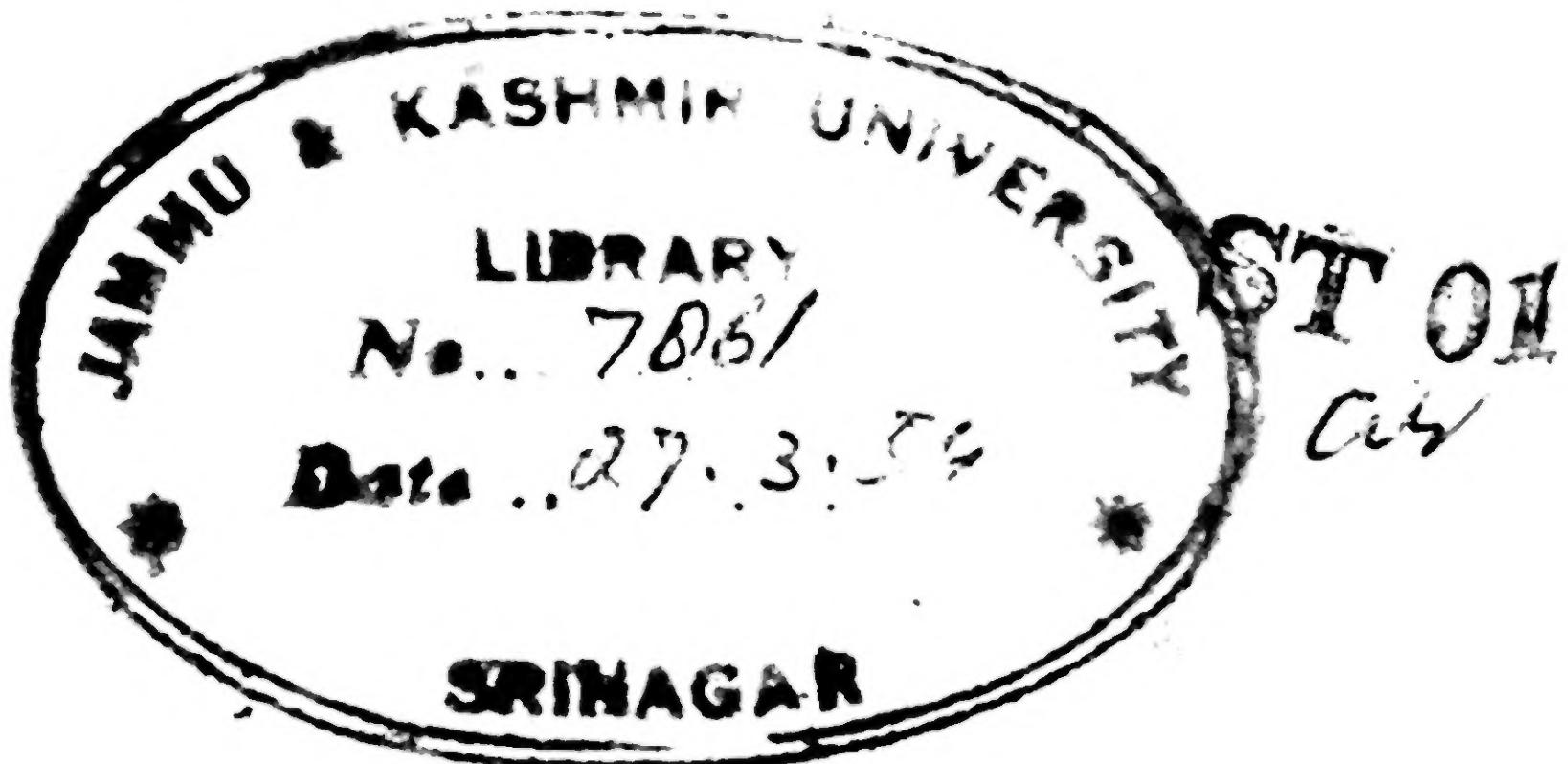
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PREFACE

Educators today are realizing more and more that the primary work of the school is to help the student find his way in the contemporary world.) There has come along with this realization a striving toward a better understanding of the related observations in the broadening fields of the social sciences. It has become evident that the school, far from being an institution of "higher learning" offering an education above the level of contemporary life, is itself one of the social institutions created by that life and cannot divorce itself therefrom.

Yet it is unfortunately true that, among teachers and administrators—and among those preparing to enter the profession—there often seems to be an attitude that the complete range of work from week to week is all that is necessary.

For these reasons it seems to the author that an introductory treatment of educational sociology should serve two purposes. First, it should help the reader, through a sociological approach, to achieve a point of view regarding the place of education in society. Second, it should help the student integrate his knowledge of social processes and institutions and add to that knowledge with a view to attaining greater understanding of the problems of contemporary life and the relation of education to them.

The concern of Part One is with the first of these purposes. It is essential that those engaged in educational work have an understanding of the significance and meaning of education both group and individual life. By means of a study of the cultural heritage and the general process of personality development—from the viewpoint of social psychology—an attempt is made to lead the student to discover the nature and function of education. The data most pertinent for this purpose have been reviewed, but some instructors may wish to elaborate

further certain facts and processes in accordance with the requirements of their particular situations. Ample supplementary material is suggested for doing so.

Part Two addresses itself to the requirements of the second purpose. The backgrounds, present functioning, critical problems and trends of institutional life are examined in a study of the family, recreation, economic affairs, religion, community life and government and the relationship of these to the school. The reader of this section should achieve a better comprehension of the nature of American society and its problems and of the resulting problems for education.

Although the material of Part Three should add to the general social outlook of the student, it especially focuses the attention upon the vital questions of social change and progress, the possibility of controlling change—or social planning—and the role of education in man's efforts to improve social life. The proposals for making education more effective in social change are scrutinized in detail. A desirable outcome of this study should be suggestions for building a curriculum suitable to modern life. These are the purposes which have shaped this volume.

Workers in the social sciences find it difficult to keep track of the different important studies, researches, investigations and committee reports coming in an endless stream from the presses. The busy school man and woman with their limited time find it well nigh impossible to do so. The helpful findings and techniques of a large number of the best of these studies are either summarized in the text or are cited in references and annotated lists of readings.

The student in training is not so pressed for time, but it is the writer's belief, based upon some years of teaching educational sociology, that the student benefits more if the number of topics or units studied is not so large as to prohibit ample development of the facts, concepts and the many issues encountered. Extensive student participation in this development is to be desired through discussion, reports upon readings, and work upon problems and projects growing out of the study. For not a few

of the students enrolled in the first course in educational sociology it will also be the last course in this field and it is frequently their only course of a sociological nature. The course must thus find its justification in what it can directly contribute to the knowledge and understanding of those enrolled. With the students making their first acquaintance with sociology there is the double problem of providing an introduction to the needed data and its principles and of applying this material. For these individuals ample time should be allowed for the assimilation and integration of their learning. On the other hand, students with some previous sociological study can most profitably, in the writer's opinion, utilize their time in a re-orientation and in working out applications of their accumulated knowledge—frequently not over-profound—to school problems. Their advantage over students with no knowledge of the field is often not as great as it would seem inasmuch as the content and methods of teaching in the usual courses are naturally not governed by the thought of increasing the transfer for prospective teachers.

The book has been planned in such a way as to permit the assignment of chapters as guides to problems and topics requiring thought, further data or other techniques for their development. This approach assumes that it is desirable for the student to read from a number of actual sources; he should not expect to find an all embracing treatment of such topics in the text. The writer has made an especial effort to provide, where possible, among the questions at the conclusions of chapters a large number of concrete problems and cases representing typical social situations in which schools and school people are involved. If the working out of these problems, with a search for the principles applicable and the solutions socially practicable and desirable, is made a regular part of the program, students will be greatly aided in thinking their way through sociology to a richer understanding and practice of education. The book contains sufficient material for discussion and study for the usual semester or quarter course.

PREFACE

The writer's indebtedness to the work of numerous teachers and students in the general field of sociology is great, as will be seen by those familiar with the subjects. Acknowledgment of these contributions is made in the text itself and in the footnotes. For seven years, and in two institutions, I have used portions of the manuscript in mimeographed form both in classes of undergraduates and graduates and from their reactions and criticisms I have learned much that has been of value in preparing the final form of this book. In particular I am grateful to Dean J. J. Oppenheimer, of the University of Louisville, for constructive suggestions in regard to features of the general plan. It is proper to add that the responsibility for the ways in which all these helps were utilized and for the views expressed is wholly mine. My thanks are due also to the publishers whose cooperation made it possible to reprint valuable copyright materials from their publications as acknowledged in subsequent pages.

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HANOVER, N. H.
January, 1937.

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PART ONE
ENVIRONMENT, MAN AND
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CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT OF MAN AND EDUCATION

What Is Education? In a small city of the upper Mississippi Valley there is a highly respectable residential street which dips through a broad and ugly ravine and, when it emerges on the opposite side, regains its status of respectability. Crowded together in the ravine are the partially whitewashed and generally dilapidated dwellings of impecunious tenants or home owners who find this undesirable and neglected location the only one financially and socially possible. One bright morning a pedestrian, hurrying from one end of this street to the other, instead of detouring when he reached the end of the sidewalk and macadam at the edge of the ravine, held his course and took the dirt roadbed through to the other side. While passing one of the squalid houses he noticed two negro boys. One, holding a book, asked his companion in tones of utter bewilderment, "What does $2xy$ equal?"

Long after regaining the sidewalk and macadam at the other end of the street the pedestrian continued to hear that question. He was struck by the irony and futility that its answer would bring if stated in terms of the lives led by the great majority of such boys in that and in other communities, and by the queries it raised regarding the work of the public school system. In truth what is the work of the schools? Are there particular functions assignable to them? What is the scope of their activity? What is the education for which they are responsible?

Much information useful in answering these questions is provided by an understanding of how the school functions as a social institution and its relation to other social institutions. For this we turn to certain aspects of the sociological approach, data and techniques.

There are, however, even more basic educational questions than those dealing with the work of the schools, namely, why educate at all? "What is the nature and meaning of education in life?" At the outset the reader should accustom himself to think of education as much more inclusive than the process which is carried on in schools. Many people thoughtlessly regard the two as synonymous, which results in losses for each. Thus it is in this wider sense that the questions are raised: Why educate? What is the nature and meaning of education? To secure the knowledge necessary to formulate answers to these basic questions, examination must be made of the nature of human nature and of the environment in which it exists. The data and tools of the sociologist are again found most serviceable, as further analysis will show.

Not infrequently the assertion is made through the press or from the platform that man has reached the point of development where he controls his environment, he is master of the world in which he lives, that he is even independent of his environment. Although gratifying to human egotism this statement needs qualification. At least it raises questions regarding the relationships between men and environment, physical and social.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND MAN

Does man control his physical environment? In part, yes, but he is and has been much influenced by it, for in a general way it conditions and limits his life and activity. A great wealth of material has been gathered illustrative of the effect on human life of such features as climate, topography and location, and resources of soil and earth. A brief word about each of these is in order.

Climate. To climatic conditions have been attributed the lethargic mental and physical characteristics of some peoples (inhabitants of hot and tropical regions); the dynamic energy of others (dwellers in temperate climes); the type of shelter

developed (as the igloo of the Eskimo); the food-raising techniques employed; the animals present to be domesticated; and even the deity worshiped. Controlled measurement of the extent of the causal action of climatic conditions is difficult, but the work of Huntington¹ and of Dexter² are suggestive of what has been done.

Topography and Location. The effect upon people of living in isolated and inaccessible regions has been made the subject of both popular and scientific treatment. The failure of the men and women of the Ozark Mountains to make what is considered progress by their fellow citizens of the lowlands has been fictionized by a recent writer.³ Or why is it that the children of farmers are not usually found to score as highly on intelligence tests as those of parents following urban vocations? It is estimated that there are about 140,000 one-room schools in the United States, educating about four and one-half million children for an average of 110 days per school year.⁴ The existence of so large a number of partially efficient schools can be traced in many cases directly or indirectly to influences of topography. Yet while undoubtedly topographic factors and those of location play a part in the affairs of man and his development the relation is not always simple.⁵

Resources of Soil and Earth. Varying fertility of soil has with climatic conditions produced great diversities of cultural development among men. The soil is the major source of food and clothing and man's prosperity depends upon its nature.

¹ Huntington, E., *Civilization and Climate*, Yale University Press, 1915.

² Dexter, E. G., *Weather Influences*, Macmillan, 1914.

³ See Randolph, Vance, *The Ozarks*, or his *Ozark Mountain Folks*, Vanguard, 1931, 1932.

⁴ Dawson, H. A., "Rural Life and Education," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 25 (May 1936), pp. 155-158 and Fitzpatrick, F. B., "Present Problems of Rural Education," *Virginia Journal of Education*, XXVI (Oct. 1932), pp. 54-55.

⁵ The possible complexities in interpretation are illustrated in the consideration of the differences between Kentuckians living in the Blue Grass and in the adjacent mountains given by Huntington in Davis, J., Barnes and Others, *An Introduction to Sociology*, Heath, 1927, pp. 227-235.

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Primitive peoples especially have been hedged about by the density of the forests and jungles or their destinies shaped by the kind of soil and its native plant life. The pioneers of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies encountered equally rigorous weather but the former, settled on poor unproductive land were so occupied in eking out a subsistence that they were several generations behind the latter in some of their institutional life, as for example, the founding of schools. Similarly, think of the effect upon the history of peoples of the presence or absence of mineral resources in the earth.

Lessening Subservience to Physical Nature. In these brief suggestions of the importance of physical environment, the effects noted have been cultural rather than biological. Not man's physical nature but his activities and civilization have been influenced by his efforts to adjust to the elements in this environment. But instead of his adjustments being rigidly determined they are products in a measure, even with primitive men, of factors other than those of physical environment. For example, while it might seem to us that the igloo is the form of shelter made inevitable by the arctic, the Chukchas of northeast Siberia never build these ice and snow houses.¹ Again while the Indians of eastern North America seemed obliged to pass their lives with dense forests an impeding and integral feature of existence, those of ancient Yucatan were able to convert tropical jungles into cleared fields. While warm regions made living easier, great masses of men have been able to move into the colder temperate zones with their more stimulating climates because of developing techniques for conquering the cold. Today we have air-conditioning against both heat and cold.

Thus the individual born today in America is less dependent upon Nature than were his forebears, not because he is physically or mentally more competent, but because he has inherited

¹ See Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, First Revision, pp. 79-80, for other illustrations of the diversity of the living habits of peoples surrounded by the same physical environment.

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from them the ways and means of freeing himself from natural limitations or of utilizing natural resources. Only a limited understanding of the form of life he lives is provided by a knowledge of his physical environment. We turn then to examine that part of environment which is not physical but social, having been created by past generations of men. It may be called the social or cultural heritage of the race. Such an examination will be helpful in determining the extent to which man is dependent on these environmental factors.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

If asked to describe the social inheritance the average American citizen thinks largely in terms of things, such as automobiles, washing machines, factories, buildings, books, tools and implements, clothing, organized bodies of knowledge, schools, churches and the like. The truth of the matter is that such an enumeration leaves out of account a considerable and extremely important part of the social inheritance. Just as real, although not as obvious are beliefs, ideals, prejudices, ideas, symbols of language, customs, standards of action, literature and art, proverbs, techniques and processes. The term cultural heritage may be used to designate the complex accumulation of all the results of human living and effort which are passed on from one generation to the next. And the particular accumulation of any one people constitute its culture.

The cultures of such peoples as, for example, those of the United States or of France are of such colossal extents as almost to stagger the imagination. A non-technical contribution to the appreciation of the nature and content of our own culture and the changes in it may come from the reading of books depicting earlier times.¹

The student will gain additional perspective for evaluating

¹ Changes in our culture during a short span in recent years are traced by Mark Sullivan in *Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925*, Scribner's, 1927-1933.

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the worth of our cultural heritage if he will reflect a moment on the age of man. Before the appearance in Europe, possibly 30,000 years ago, of modern man (Cro-Magnon man) there had been long ages during which human types walked the earth. The first human race (known as Heidelberg man) to leave its record in western Europe probably lived there as early as 300,000 years ago. A very widely distributed type of human being, the Neanderthals, lived in Europe, Asia and Africa from about 75,000 years ago¹ on down to Cro-Magnon times.¹ At this latter date man's cultural accomplishments sound rather insignificant to us but his ability to control fire and use it for cooking, to make stone and bone implements, his knowledge of the principles of the saw, scraper and borer, of how to paint, of how to clothe himself and find natural shelter: all represent ages of human effort and experience. It remained for the ancestors of present Europeans during Neolithic times to develop the elements of agriculture, domestication of animals, the making of textiles, pottery and more efficient tools such as the bow and arrow, and to construct artificial shelters. The working of metal did not begin until two or three thousand years before the Christian Era.

In the relatively minute period of so-called historic time the total of the cultural inheritance has become so prodigious that one attempt to catalogue its elements required 130 pages and even then too great detail was avoided.² The tedious early progress and later rapid growth is strikingly portrayed in this analysis. "We may liken the progress of mankind to that of a man a hundred years old, who dawdles through kindergarten for eighty-five years of his life, takes ten years to go through the primary grades, then rushes with lightning rapidity through grammar school and college."³ Brief attention should be directed toward certain aspects of the origin and growth of the cultural inheritance.

¹ Osborn, H. F., *Men of the Old Stone Age*, Scribner's, 1915, pp. 75ff.

² Davis, J., Barnes and Others, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

³ Lowie, R. H., *Culture and Ethnology*, Boni and Liveright, 1917, p. 78.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CULTURE

How do culture traits arise? Each trait has behind it a history of its own dating back in many cases to the long forgotten past and representing an attempt of man to secure an adjustment to some aspect or other of his environment, physical or cultural. As was pointed out previously, the larger part of culture arose from men's efforts to adjust to other men and to the cultural heritage. The particular trait under consideration, a tool, a belief, a customary mode of behavior, might arise through (1) chance or accidental means, (2) through invention, or (3) might have made its way to one people from the culture of another people. Undoubtedly many adjustments were reached through trial and error. By invention we do not mean the creation of something outright. There is little evidence for culture traits so originating. What is meant is that the occasional brighter mind and the still rarer inventor combined or evolved a new grouping of previously existing traits or modified an existing trait.¹ The invention is made because the existing culture is ripe for it.

In the light of these considerations it appears that the chief source of new culture at any time for any people is in their existing culture and that of other peoples with whom they have contact. There is much sociological truth in the statement that to them that have shall be given.

At least three factors throw light on the very rapid growth in recent times of the cultures of the modern nations. The peoples of these nations each inherited a very considerable body of culture from the preceding generations and thus each had a large culture base, as the total accumulation is called. Initially then the stage is set for rapid growth and change. Moreover with large populations the birth of individuals with exceptional or inventive minds is more likely than when the number of individuals living together is small. In the third

¹ For a discussion of the limitations of the invention theory of the origin of traits, see T. de Laguna, *The Factors of Social Evolution*, Crofts, 1926, pp. 60-68.

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place, the great and increasing facilities for communication between peoples of different cultures make possible the more rapid diffusion of traits.

The growth of culture is uneven in that certain traits make more rapid change than do others and there is then what has been termed a culture lag in the latter. In the United States many traits have not kept the pace of those of a material nature. Again there are elements still in existence today which have outlived their usefulness as modes of adjustment or which are actually of dis-service in present day life. Some traits originating among one people because of their general utility spread rapidly far and wide and are incorporated in new settings in alien cultures. Again at some periods culture traits tend to disintegrate and lose their currency.

It is now time to consider in a little more detail what are the fundamental elements in a culture.

ELEMENTS OF CULTURE

Many diverse classifications have been made to serve varying purposes of analysis and study.¹ Perhaps as satisfactory as any for the purpose of calling attention to the fundamental nature and significance of the cultural heritage is a simple classification using two principal categories: material traits and non-material traits.

Under *material traits* are to be placed all the material objects which are the products of man's activity. This part of the cultural heritage in such a country as the United States is so great and so much stressed that in the minds of many this part tends to be identified with the whole. Yet it is the knowledges, the skills, the customs (i.e., non-material traits) growing up about these manufactured things that give them their significance and which control their use. For this reason, some like Ross prefer to consider manufactured things only as

¹ An example of a widely used classification is that of Clark Wissler who in *Man and Culture*, Crowell, 1923, p. 74, gives the following headings: speech, material traits, art, mythology and scientific knowledge, religious practices, family and social systems, property, government, and war.

products and reserve the term, material culture, for the mental content and the skills back of them.¹ The recent controversial discussions waged regarding man's dependence upon machines or perhaps more inclusively upon material things suggest how large they bulk in our culture.

Under *non-material traits* are to be placed a vast and interpenetrating number of behavior habits and patterns which may be listed as:

Folkways and mores (including customs, morals, laws and beliefs)

Art

Knowledge and techniques

Language

Habits of institutional and group organization.

These will receive brief comment and explanation.

Folkways and Mores. Why are certain pranks, violations of law and destruction of property allowed on Halloween? What keeps the larger part of the population in order throughout the years? Laws? Hardly. Why is rice rather than wheat thrown today at weddings? Why is anything thrown? Why does one person greet another in this country with "Good morning" or "How do you do"? Why do men rise when ladies enter a room? How does it happen that meal hours are relatively the same in a nation of over 120,000,000 people? Why do people in the South use white cornmeal and those in New England use yellow? Why do drug-stores have soft drink counters and grocery stores none? Such questions can be asked about numberless aspects of the every-day lives of all of us and in many cases no satisfactory answer can be given except that it is customary. In fact the uniformity in human behavior, the characteristics which denominate a people are due in large measure to their being nourished in an environment which has as its foundation accepted and customary forms of action, thought and belief.

¹ Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, First Revision, Century, 1930, p. 83.

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The most simple, voluntary and largely unconscious behavior customs are called folkways. At the outset accidentally discovered, invented or borrowed these behavior patterns are imitated, gain currency and continue to be followed by younger generations because they were customary among their elders or perchance because of their utility.

The folkway in time often tends to become more complex, reasons being attached to justify or explain the form of behavior. Action or belief of that particular type may come to be identified with the weal or woe of the group and the pressure of group opinion is thrown behind conformity to it. There is censure of non-conformity or variation in performance. It thus has become moral to conform. Church attendance is one of the mores among many people in this country. The teacher who fails to attend violates one of the mores and receives condemnation from those who know of his conduct. Mores that are considered absolutely vital in the life of the group are usually still further hedged about by the passage of laws.

This brief discussion serves to suggest that a large part of the life of the individual, his actions, thinking and beliefs, are lived in accordance with the folkways and mores of his social inheritance. He is to a great extent the type of person he is because of this.

Art, Knowledge and Techniques. Like art, knowledge and techniques have their significant existence in the mental structures. A symphony is only a noise to a person until he acquires an interpretative mental content. The knowledge and techniques necessary to improve or merely to make use of our material culture are many. Most students of social science think that the great advance of recent years on the non-material side has largely been in knowledge and techniques. This is to be expected since their value or utility is more easily measured and demonstrated, and the results of change in them can be somewhat better anticipated than is the case with mores, for example.

Language. Of all the elements of the non-material heritage there is none more important for the well-being of man than language. The means of communication and symbolic speech are large determiners in making man human. More will be said about this in the following chapter.

Habits of Institutional and Group Organization.

Institutions. Certain adjustments of men to their physical environment, to other men and to the cultural heritage have proved more satisfying than others and thus tended to persist. In the course of time, in the satisfaction of the more fundamental needs, complexes of folkways and mores, of knowledges and techniques, and of established types of relationships would be brought into a more or less cohesive whole. These systems of mass habits are called institutions. Thus the institution of religion has as its nucleus common habits of action, common beliefs and attitudes associated with which are knowledges, techniques and certain speech symbols. An institution is an evolving crystallization of culture traits which has recognized status in public opinion.¹ Other institutions are government, war, marriage, education, recreation, business, industry, etc.

In many cases fulfillment of institutional ends and functions has been more adequately attained through the activities of groups of persons. When the efforts of a social group thus become identified with the functioning of an institution the latter assumes rather tangible form in the organization of social life.² Institutions then may exist in the unorganized form described in the preceding paragraph, or in this organized form, in which case they are called by the name of the group. The church is the organized or group form which has as an especial concern religious institutions; the state is the organized or group form which has as an especial concern the institution of government; the schools are institutional groups which have as an especial concern the institution of education.

¹ See Cooley, C. H., *Social Organization*, Scribner's, 1909, Chap. XXVIII.

² For a fuller discussion of this topic, see Davis, J., Barnes and Others, *op. cit.*, pp. 453-457.

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Social Groups. Thus the social heritage includes institutions, their organized group form and other social groupings. In fact, most of the relations among individuals and among classes are given orderly status and controlled through the societal organization of institutions and groups. Men have been influenced by a variety of factors to form groups and it is not at all strange that the greater part of their life is lived within them. Among the factors operative either in the past or at present in leading to the formation of groups are: geographical and climatic conditions, the desire for companionship and sex attraction, the food supply, identity of interests, awareness of common traits, the desire for protection, the influence of dominating individuals, the need of recreational cooperation.¹

Since most of our life is lived within groups and since they embody in their structure the various elements of the cultural heritage, they are obviously important in the development of the individual. The groups which will be most influential in his life are those in which he has the most frequent and direct face-to-face contacts with others. This takes place in the family, the child's play group and the small neighborhood of well acquainted persons, and so from this standpoint these groups may be thought of as primary. This method of classifying groups according to the intimacy and directness of the face-to-face association suggested by Cooley,² makes possible an arrangement of them in their relative importance in molding and shaping the development of individuals. Some educational sociologists have carried the classification a step farther and added two other categories to that of primary. Smith, following a treatment of the primary groups named above, gives an intermediate category which is to include the church, school, cultural clubs, fraternal groupings, professional, business and agricultural groups. A third category, secondary

¹ Blackmar, F. W. and Gillin, J. L., *Outlines of Sociology*, Revised Edition, Macmillan, 1924, p. 55.

² Cooley, C. H., *op. cit.*, Chap. III. Not mere propinquity but the sharing of interests, purposes, feelings of "we-ness" and ideas is the essential factor in influence.

5. Are folkways and mores individual or group patterns of behavior?

6. Kimball Young while agreeing that physical environment imposes limitations upon society and even supplies the "brick and mortar" for material traits, contends that it cannot shape the form and content of the "bulk of culture." What illustrations can you give of the truth of such a view? Can you think of any exceptions to its applicability?

7. According to Ross as civilization develops: "Man becomes a citizen of the world rather than of a parish and psychology rather than geography provides keys of social evolution." What is the meaning of this statement?

8. In 1935 men in the western states suffered great losses, discomfort and even death due to dust storms, more technically wind erosion. To what extent were these ills attributable to the impotence of man in the force of a powerful natural phenomenon?

9. To what extent are the occupations in your state determined by physical environment? By social environment? How did these factors enter into the determination of the occupations followed in your own family line?

10. Differentiate the influences of physical nature on individual men and on social man.

11. Gilette and Reinhardt suggest that man's adjustment to nature takes three forms: protecting himself against adverse effects; adjusting himself to nature more advantageously; controlling within limits nature to his own ends. Is one of these methods used more than another? At ascending cultural levels what changes take place in the means employed to secure adjustment?

12. A social institution is defined by J. S. Gray as a "group of individuals of varied abilities banded together in a fairly permanent manner by language compact for definite co-operative purpose." How acceptable is this definition? What is the essential nature of a social institution?

13. In August, 1935, two young men entered the Olympic Forest in the state of Washington on a bet that they could survive thirty days clad in bathing suits and possessing as equipment two knives, a fishing line and a cigarette lighter. On the verge of exhaustion and ravenously hungry they trudged back to civilization after eight days. Assuming they had won their bet, would their experiment have proved that men could exist on the culture base represented by their equipment?

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An excellent, comprehensive portrayal in eight chapters of the development of modern complex societies out of primitive cultures.

Bowman, Isaiah. "Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences," *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*, American Historical Association, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, Chap. III.

Summarizes present knowledge regarding geographic influences on population changes.

Gray, J. S. *Psychological Foundations of Education*, American Book Company, 1935, Chap. V.

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Huntington, E., Williams, F. E. and van Valkenburg, S. *Economic and Social Geography*, John Wiley and Sons, 1933, Chaps. VI and VII.

Discusses the influence of geographic factors on man and human progress.

Kroeber, A. L. "Diffusionism," *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. V, The Macmillan Co., 1931, pp. 139-142.

Sketches interpretations of cultural development which rest largely on diffusion as their explanatory principle.

Krueger, E. T. and Reckless, W. C. *Social Psychology*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1932, Chap. II.

A very clear discussion of the nature and significance of communication and of the linguistic development of the child. Students new to sociology will profit greatly by reading.

Leith, C. K. *World Minerals and World Politics*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931.

An analysis of the relation of mineral resources to the economic, commercial and political policies of the nations.

Lowie, R. H. "Social Organization," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XIV, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 141-148.

A richly illustrated but brief discussion of forms of human associations.

Ogburn, W. F. *Social Change*, B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1922, pp. 56-268.

The writer outlines the factors in cultural growth and change together with the nature of the process.

Thomas, Franklin. *The Environmental Basis of Society*, The Century Co., 1925.

A study of the conditioning influence of natural factors on man and his culture.

Thrasher, F. M. "The Sociological Approach to Educational Problems," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, IX (April 1936), pp. 469-483.

Affords a bird's-eye-view of the possibilities in the application of sociological methods and subject matter to educational problems.

Todd, A. J. *Theories of Social Progress*, The Macmillan Co., 1918, Chap. IX.

Factors such as intelligence and education are held to have been more influential in man's activities for centuries than has been physical environment.

Willey, M. M. "Society and Its Cultural Heritage," in *An Introduction to Sociology*, edited by Davis, J., Barnes and Others, D. C. Heath and Co., 1927, Part IV.

Chapters well worth reading on the nature of culture and its growth and spread.

Wissler, Clark. *Man and Culture*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1923, pp. 1-127.

Traces the nature and content of the Euro-American type of culture, culture patterns and their development and spread.

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Wissler, Clark. "Material Culture," in *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Murchison, Carl, Clark University Press, 1935, Chap. 13.

Valuable for concise sketches of present knowledge regarding the origin of fire, foods, taming of animals, agriculture, housing, transportation, tools, etc.

Young, Kimball. *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., 1934, Chaps. I, II, III.

A most useful reference for more extensive reading upon the forms of group life, the nature of culture and how it changes and grows.

Pages may
be 39 to 38
cross

13. Suggestion does not always result in positive action for there is negative suggestibility. Is there any more reason for a parent to be concerned when a child of ten reacts negatively to suggestion than when one of three does so? What factors enter into suggestion?

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Allport, Gordon W. "Attitudes," in *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Murchison, Carl, Clark University Press, 1935, Chap. 17.

A concise analysis of problems of the nature of attitudes and of their role in human nature and individual personality.

Beach, W. G. and Walker, E. E. *American Social Problems*, Stanford University Press, 1934, Chap. 2.

Delineates briefly the social basis of individual personality and of human nature.

Bernard, L. L. "The Remaking of Human Nature," in *An Introduction to Sociology*, edited by Davis, J., Barnes and Others, D. C. Heath and Co., 1927, pp. 424-438.

Treats the factors and processes which shape human nature and individuality.

Cooley, C. H. *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, Chaps. V, VI.

Discusses the meaning and development of the "social self" or self-consciousness.

Cowdry, E. V. *Human Biology and Racial Welfare*, Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1930, Part IV.

A group of chapters supplying information relating to the influence of social and non-social environmental factors upon human nature and welfare.

Dawson, C. A. and Gettys, W. E. *An Introduction to Sociology*, The Ronald Press Co., 1929, Chap. XVI.

The play of social forces and individual elements in the development of human nature and personality are analyzed and illustrated.

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Faris, Ellsworth. "The Nature of Human Nature," in *The Urban Community*, edited by E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago Press, 1926, pp. 21-37.

The origin and processes by which consciousness of self and human nature arise in social situations are briefly treated.

Krueger, E. T. and Reckless, W. C. *Social Psychology*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1932, Chap. XI.

Valuable supplementary discussion of the nature and social genesis of personality.

Kulp, D. H. *Educational Sociology*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1932, Chaps. VII, VIII.

Elaborates a psycho-sociological theory of the development of personality, discussing wishes, attitudes, societal pressures and conceptions of role in its organization.

Murphy, Gardner and L. B. *Experimental Social Psychology*, Harper and Brothers, 1931, Chap. IV.

Discusses the nature of social-cultural conditioning with special emphasis upon suggestion and imitation.

Murphy, L. B. and Gardner. "The Influence of Social Situations upon the Behavior of Children," in *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Murchison, Carl, Clark University Press, 1935, Chap. 22.

Reviews methods of study and findings with pre-school children, emphasizing the present limitation of knowledge upon the specific influence of different social situations upon behavior.

Park, R. E. "Human Nature, Attitudes, and the Mores," in *Social Attitudes*, edited by Young, Kimball, Henry Holt and Co., 1931, Chap. 2.

Not as rigorously analytical in treatment of attitude as Allport but affords supplementation from a sociological view.

Reinhardt, J. M. and Davies, G. R. *Principles and Methods of Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932, Chap. IV.

A review of the processes and factors in the socialization of the individual.

Shaffer, L. F. *The Psychology of Adjustment*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936, Chaps. XII, XIII.

Recommended for the excellent treatment of the structural, organic and social factors in the development of personality.

Todd, A. J. *Theories of Social Progress*, The Macmillan Co., 1918, Chap. IV.

The author shows that the self develops through social interaction and is correctly spoken of as a social product.

Woodworth, R. S. *Psychology*, Third Edition, Henry Holt and Co., 1934, Chap. VI.

A usually accessible discussion of the organic and social factors in personality.

Young, Kimball. *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., 1934, Chap. V.

Discusses the bases, development and types of personality.

CHAPTER III

THE NATURE AND MEANING OF EDUCATION

An effort to summarize the implications for education will bring into the open the question of the extent to which the meaning of this process comes from what it does for institutional life and from what it does for individual life. In the final analysis, is the ultimate worth of a human process determined by the benefits it confers upon social life or by those it confers upon individual life? And the answers to these questions in turn depend upon which of the two is regarded as the more fundamental in human progress. "Was the Sabbath made for man or was man made for the Sabbath," was the form in which the problem was proposed by a thinker of old. Of course, some thinkers may prefer to look for the ultimate criteria of value in neither of these and this they are at liberty to do.

PRECEDENCE OF INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP

The difficulties of framing a satisfactory answer as to the one more fundamental are many. We may as well face the fact that one's social philosophy seems inevitably to color the interpretation of the pertinent scientific data. Regardless of what are the facts of the relationship between individual and group, the dominant view (the social philosophy) in the United States up to the present has emphasized the priority of the individual. But there are other parts of the world today where the opposite is true: likewise, the past has witnessed reversals in the point of view. A period of extreme collectivism like that of the Middle Ages was followed by one of extreme individualism. The latter in time gave way to increasing stress upon group or social welfare, and the present seems to be marked by a rapid acceleration of this movement. The balance between

the individual and the group seems to be so delicate that it does not remain in equilibrium for long.

Reciprocal View. What do the considerations of the preceding chapters suggest? It is clear that any point of view which sets the individual off as separate and independent of the group and of the cultural heritage of which it is a part, is not true to the facts. Regardless of which originally was first there can be no dispute concerning the present sequence: group life exists and the individual is born into it and then is molded in interaction with it. On the other hand, the non-material heritage with its institutional and group life has no objective existence but is found only in the minds of individuals. To the extent that individuals imperfectly acquire it, partially transmit it or through intent consciously change it, group life is altered. The joys and sorrows of associated living can only be experienced by sentient individuals for groups have no nervous systems. The two are mutually interdependent, for group life and heritage survive only as they are reproduced in the natures of new individuals while the latter take on their human characteristics from group association.

Then what of the question whether education should be primarily concerned with furthering social welfare or individual development? Obviously, such an alternative question assumes no such reciprocal relationship as grows out of our study of the facts. For what is fundamentally for the best interests of group life necessarily is also for the best interests of the individual and vice versa. Says Good, "Among the activities that go to make real and permanent development of the individual or the social group there can be no essential conflict, for in these cases the activities make for the development of both."¹ The type of development which has survival value for one will harmonize with that development of the other which has either survival value or is non-injurious.² Hence it would follow "that a parity

¹ Good, A., *Sociology and Education*, Harpers, 1926, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

must be maintained between the two points of view as starting-points in educational thinking and planning.”¹ Also it appears that education is a significant process to each, performing services essential for each.

Of course, in specific instances the difficulty lies in determining what developments are for the fundamental good of either individual or group. History shows many mistakes on the part of each and certainly no one individual or group is gifted with such long range vision as to be able to discern with complete assurance the ultimately beneficial and the injurious. Actually there is constant conflict between individuals and groups which cannot be dogmatically harmonized whether because of the near sightedness just alluded to or no. But in the light of the reciprocal relationship seen to exist no solution can be safely accepted which ignores or neglects the consideration of both.

Group View. Not all students come to this view of the situation. By some “society is regarded as the fundamental fact and the interests of society determine the kind of impulses to be encouraged and the special powers to be developed” in the individual.² Thus education attains its real significance through what it means for group life. The professor of sociology just quoted applies this position to the school by the further statement that for any species of individualism “which looks upon the individual as the primary and determining fact in educational principles and practices, a consideration of the biological and social development of the individual, including the school process, will show that it is irrational and consequently unworthy of a place in scientific pedagogy.”³

The story of man’s biological and sociological past is reviewed for the reader as providing convincing evidence that the indi-

¹ Smith, W. R., *Principles of Educational Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin, 1928, p. 61.

² Howerth, I. W., *The Theory of Education*, Century, 1926, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103. All of Chapter VII is devoted to the discussion of the relation between the individual and the group.

vidual has always been subordinate in that his activities and impulses were curtailed for the good of the species and of group life. Formal education, it is held, developed to regulate still further the adjustment of the individual to the social environment. No hope is held for the creation of an order wherein the individual is the central factor, since his subordination "inheres in the nature of things. . . . Consequently his interests and his development should only be considered as far as they coincide with social demands, or contribute to the realization of a social aim embodying the general welfare."¹ The goal of all human effort should be the realization of the best possible social order. In tracing this view it will be noted that we have gone beyond the data presented in the first two chapters some distance into the realm of theory.

Individual View. Thinkers with psychological backgrounds frequently take the diametrically opposite view. What can be known they ask about the type of social order which will be best? How can social progress be identified since we have no experience upon which to pattern our ideal society?² Allport says, for example, that all of these are merely postulates. The tendency to magnify the social order which was represented in the previous paragraphs, is due to the group fallacy and is fallen into by those who study the group prior to studying the behavior mechanisms of the individual.³ If on the contrary "we take care of the individuals, psychologically speaking, the groups will be found to take care of themselves."⁴ For social behavior and thus the whole social structure and inheritance were developed as means toward satisfying the biological needs of individuals.⁵ The social order has no virtue in itself apart from individuals. "The good society is thus to be conceived as that which is good for its members. Its merit lies solely in *their* happiness. . . . The *unit of progress* is not society as a whole, but again the individual."⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

² Allport, F. H., *op. cit.*, p. 425.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Childhood education from this point of view must start with the fundamental drives and original interests of the individual and seek to bring about a modification and direction of them which will make them "serve as means to cooperative social living." The author goes a step further and asserts that "Training to become a citizen is no less imperative than the acquisition of knowledge and vocational habits."¹ In the light of previous statements it would seem that we should not understand this to mean the subordination of the individual to cooperative life but only a cooperation necessary to secure his happiness.

Doubtless the reasoning of Allport strikes a more responsive chord in most readers than did that of Howerth. The central importance of the individual is part of the culture pattern in the United States, and this view has been given even greater prominence in recent years through the psychological emphasis upon individual differences. Nevertheless, a true understanding of the development of the human individual personality suggests that there is a reciprocal relation between the individual and group life. It would seem to be straining the facts to maintain as does Allport that all the social behavior of the individual today is traceable to the biological needs of that same individual. The biological plasticity of the individual and the molding force of the cultural life into which he is born suggest a different treatment. On the other side, Howerth through the use of somewhat indefinite terms like "the species," "the race," "society," and treating them as if they were entities gets so far away from the individual and his human personality as to lose sight of the part he plays.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION

Keeping in mind the distinction between what is provided by schools and education in the broad and actual sense, consider the question, what is the meaning of education? Now its meaning and significance come from the functions it performs and these have already been examined. In the light of the knowledge

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 402-403.

themselves are not static, although there is a certain inertia, and, in the education they give directly, the emphasis is upon the preservation of the existing status. Nevertheless, in times of rapid cultural change, institutional change is accelerated. Divergences increase between people in beliefs, ideals, knowledges, attitudes, behavior patterns, etc., so that some students of educational philosophy contend that there is no accepted body of culture from which a core curriculum for childhood education could be drawn.¹

Although this view seems somewhat to over-exaggerate changes in institutional patterns there is much truth in its contention that culture does not stand still waiting for pupils to adjust to it. The point is that all non-material traits do not change simultaneously or at the same rates so acquaintance with those fundamental ones now existent provides a basis for immediate greater participation in associated living and a start for future needs.

On the other hand, since preservation of the *status quo* is what much of the education secured directly in institutional living is designed to promote and since we live in a period of considerable change, school education should go farther and include an examination of the weaknesses and defects of institutional culture as well as its strengths, and examine at higher levels proposals for improvement. Attitudes favorable to seeking improvements and willingness to adapt thinking to new evidence are important as well as those toward appreciating what is. Should the school come under the domination of any great propagandizing agency little place for this essential aspect of education would remain.

The summarizing statements above coupled with a knowledge of what social experience has demonstrated to be the fundamental fields of institutional life (marital, recreational, economic, religious, etc.) give a rough picture of what is the nature of the education needed by the child. Since much of this

¹ See Kilpatrick, W. H., "Public Education as a Force for Social Improvement," *School and Society*, 41 (April 20, 1935), p. 524.

education was provided for the young by the institutions themselves before specialized agencies in the form of schools arose, and since much of it is still provided by them, there is the question of the particular functions for which schools are responsible. This problem is now to be considered.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. How satisfactory as an interpretation of the relation of individuals to group life is the wheel analogy of Finney that "as to the *means* of life we are united as a hub; as to its *ends*, as separate as the spokes?"
2. In speaking of the origin of the self, Todd uses the figure that physical heredity provides the vase, social heredity its contents. How well does this figure represent your idea of the contributions of individual heredity and social environment?
3. Does the present emphasis upon the individual differ from the individualism of earlier days in this country?
4. In its 1933 report the National Education Association Committee on Social-Economic Goals of America stated: "To accept as the approach to our national goals the enrichment of individual personality is, then, not solely to seek a richer and more satisfying life for every individual; it is also to seek the refinement and enlargement of culture with resultant benefit to social living." Does this formulation presuppose the individual view, the group view or the reciprocal view of the relation of individual and culture?
5. Were the prominent men who advocated the establishment of public education in this country in the first quarter of the nineteenth century more concerned with its value in the development of the individual citizen or with the needs of the democratic state? What seemed to be their concept of the relationship between the two?
6. Does the present emphasis upon group needs and welfare conflict with ideals of individual development and improvement? Examine examples of recent federal legislation with this question in mind.
7. In recent years it has been repeatedly stated that since the individual derives more benefit from secondary and higher education than does society now that the latter is adequately supplied with highly trained people, these levels of education should be placed upon a frank tuition basis. What support can you find for or against this proposition or any of its assumptions? Consult your instructor for the

names of people in the educational world who have declared themselves on the issue and learn their views.

8. The school as a social institution according to Odum has two purposes: transmission of social knowledge and wisdom and guidance of individual and social adjustment. Compare and contrast this view with that presented in this chapter. How vital is the conflict between the two?

9. Should the curriculum of the public schools be based primarily upon: data scientifically validated, material approved by the state, material not opposed by religious groups, material desired or not disapproved by commercial and industrial interests, the desires of a combination of the above, or should there be a policy of complete freedom of instruction under which the teacher would be the arbiter in regard to appropriateness of materials?

SELECTED READINGS

Beach, W. G. and Walker, E. E. *American Social Problems*, Stanford University Press, 1934, Chap. 16.

A discussion of the meaning, social significance and general aims of education (health, tools, vocation, home-making, leisure, citizenship).

Cooley, C. H. *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, Chap. I.

One of the early influential statements in sociology of the fallacy of setting individual and society in opposition.

Dewey, John. "The Influence of Education," in *Human Biology and Racial Welfare*, edited by Cowdry, E. V., Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1930, Chap. XX.

Written from the reciprocal point of view and indicates the need for better formal education and the obstacles to be overcome in securing it.

Finney, R. L. *A Sociological Philosophy of Education*, The Macmillan Co., 1928, Chap. IV.

Discusses the derivation of educational objectives from basic needs and the relation of individual and society in the satisfaction of these needs.

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Judd, C. H. *The Psychology of Social Institutions*, The Macmillan Co., 1926, Chap. XVIII.

The author holds that schools have been maintained by society for training pupils in the social arts.

Kinneman, J. A. *Society and Education*, The Macmillan Co., 1932, Chap. 7.

Accepts Sumner's four categories of activity: maintenance, perpetuation, regulation and gratification as the objectives of education or more simply "an acquaintance with the institutions of society."

Mead, George H. *Mind, Self and Society*, University of Chicago Press, 1934, Part III.

The growth of the self and its reciprocal relationships are approached from psychology but with a philosophical coloring attractive to students of the latter subject.

Odum, H. W. *Man's Quest for Social Guidance*, Henry Holt and Co., 1927, Chap. V.

Stresses the individual as the prime social unit and describes individual and social inter-stimulation in the development of personality.

Peters, C. C. *Foundations of Educational Sociology*, Revised Edition, The Macmillan Co., 1930, Chap. II.

A presentation of the functions of education in society as group solidarity and individual efficiency.

Smith, W. R. *Principles of Educational Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928, Chaps. III, IV.

A strong statement of the reciprocal relation between the individual and the social group with its consequent educational implications.

Snedden, David. *An Introductory Sociology for Teachers*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935, Chap. X.

A discussion under the terms, socializing and individualizing processes, of the relations of individual persons and social groups.

Todd, A. J. *Theories of Social Progress*, The Macmillan Co., 1918,
pp. 45-57.

Although holding that individual and society are complementary, the view is advanced that social factors provide the form and the content for self-development.

PART TWO
SCHOOLS AND MODERN LIFE

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Recently one of the most widely known advocates of the child-centered, progressive school movement made an address at one of the general sessions of the annual meeting of the educational association of a New England state. In convincing terms he called for the provision of a freer type of education as the great task of public schools. Uniformities of procedure and of curriculum should be minimized. More opportunity for individual self-development by pupils should be given. Through creative methods traits of the child neglected in the ordinary school were to be given a chance for healthy growth.

Twelve months passed, with the depression of the early 1930's ever calling greater attention to maladjustments in the societal structures. Meanwhile, "technocracy" had risen to the apex of its short life. The annual convention of this same state education association was again in session and the same educator was invited to return, this time to address the policy makers of public schools—principals and superintendents. The educator, admitting that his concept of the fundamental task of public schools had changed since his previous deliverance, now ardently urged each administrator to return to his school system and redirect its program to the end that pupils would be made to understand life in the new technological society now taking form.

The thoughtful person might well ask, can the central tasks of the public school change as swiftly as the incident above suggests? Does not this attitude assume that the school is the sole or at least the dominant agency for education? Is there no other guide to its essential functions than the changing opinions of such leaders? It is at this point that a socio-historical

approach makes one of its significant contributions. It is quite true that there are conflicting opinions regarding what is the especial work of the public school today. And equally diverse assertions are made as to its particular function in the immediate future. We are indeed in need of guiding principles.

People most closely identified by interest or work with schools frequently fall into the habit of regarding them as their especial projects, losing sight of their role in the culture pattern. Schools are institutions. As such their real existence is in customary attitudes, ways of thinking and forms of acting; in fine, in the collective habits which have grown around the satisfaction of wants through formal education.

Since public education is just such an institution, a search for principles of action very properly should begin with a view of the past functioning of this institution.

HISTORIC ROLE OF INSTITUTIONALIZED EDUCATION

That part of formal educational development which throws the most light upon the present has taken place during the last eight centuries. Previous to about 1250 for an almost equal span of time formal education in western Europe had been generally in the hands of the Church. It was a period in which large sections of the population had no leisure to seek learning. Further, learning had little value except for those who aspired to service in the Church and thus this institution came largely to control what instruction there was.

Now without tracing in detail the growth of the school from this status down to the present we can gain an understanding of the nature of the institution and how it functions in society by examining it at certain critical periods of human effort or thought.

The Revival of Trade. The first period to engage our attention is that which witnessed the passing of the Middle Ages. Of the many changes in social, cultural, political and economic life that took place, particularly important are the decline of

the feudal system with its manorial economy, the rise of trade and handicraft, and the revival of city life. Part and parcel of these changes was the slow emergence of a new population group: freemen, burghers. These new dwellers in cities plied their occupations as merchants, tradesmen, artisans, craftsmen, at length organizing themselves into merchant guilds or craft guilds as the case might be. Regulations were set up prescribing the conditions of work, and the techniques, information and processes employed were among the possessions of the respective guilds.

If one would learn a craft he must apprentice himself to a master craftsman and work up through the lesser stages of skill and knowledges under his guidance. Thus vocational education in the sense of training for a craft or trade was taken care of through the guild form of organization.

On the other hand, there was little opportunity for the new citizens or their children to acquire from any existing social institution the reading, writing and the scanty arithmetic needed for the transactions of trade and craftsmanship. The scattered schools of the Church were not operated with these needs primarily in mind. This education could not be acquired at home for there was ignorance. There developed then a demand that schools provide the lacking education, and as the growing cities and guilds acquired the requisite wealth such schools came into existence.

Humanistic Learning. A critical period is found a century or two later and is characterized by the spread of the humanistic interests and enthusiasm of the Renaissance. A different and higher layer of society is involved this time but there are again such features as the recognition of the worthwhile character of a certain type of learning, the feeling that no institution can so well provide it as the school, and the demand that secondary schools and higher institutions supply the lack. Existing schools were remodeled or new schools created along classical lines and humanistic learning flourished for a time in the "Latin" gram-

mar schools" of England, the gymnasiums of the German states, the municipal colleges of southern France, and the court schools of Italy.

The Religious Revolts. With so many individuals in western Europe filled with enthusiasm for learning and aroused to new activity in its quest, it was inevitable that the movement would grow beyond its original purposes. Among peoples of less classical antecedence and more serious interests, new fields of investigation would have attraction. The Greek student besides reading Homer might read also the early New Testament in Greek. The humanistic tendency to criticize the institutions, art, scholarship of medievalism might easily pass over into questioning and criticism of the contemporary institutional life. And so it was that out of these and other aspects of the times there developed a strong reaction against many features of that institution which had made the fewest concessions to the spirit of the times, the Church. A growing number of persons demanded that reforms in religious practices should be inaugurated and that the authority in all such matters be found only in the sacred writings. As dissatisfaction came to a head there was open revolt against the Church and the Protestant phase of the Reformation was under way.

There were different emphases by the various leaders of the movement in the different centers but there was unanimity in the stress on the importance of religion in the life of each human being and the necessity of personal salvation. From this it followed that the individual must be able to read the Scriptures, now translated in the vernacular languages. Some of the leaders went further and taught that right living not only embraced an intelligent, personal faith but an equally intelligent participation in civic affairs. Advanced ideas in this line were promulgated by Martin Luther in his *Letters to the Mayors and Aldermen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools*. But as Luther pointed out the majority of parents were either too ignorant, busy working, or else too negligent to

be qualified to give children this kind of education, "so that necessity requires us to have teachers for public schools, unless each parent employ a private instructor."¹ As a result of these social demands common schools were established or existing ones were revamped so as to include the curricular content now deemed necessary, especially reading, writing and religion. Perhaps the Netherlands and Scotland and, in this country, New England were the centers of the greatest effects, although the Lutheran states of Germany, Switzerland, and dissenting groups in France and England to some extent used the school to spread the new learning and way of life.

Humanitarianism and the Political Crisis. Our quest for an understanding of the nature and functioning of the educational institution (the school and especially the school for all) next brings us to the closing years of the 18th century. There should be recalled for purposes of contrast the conception of social institutions in acceptance during the period with which this survey of history began, the Middle Ages. In a word, the social institutions were considered to be of more or less divine origin and sanction and thus not generally subject to human alteration. Also, the various strata of society were regarded as inherent and the characteristics of the people in each group fixed in the very order of things. Common people were the hewers of wood and the drawers of water because they were of common clay. Since they had no capacity for improvement, they should be made to keep their place.

By 1775 many things had happened to change these social concepts. As we have seen, there was the break-down of feudalism and the rise of new social classes. The increasing wealth of the latter and their growing power was an obstacle to the idea of fixed classes. In the Protestant Reformation a blow had been successfully struck at the most sacrosanct institution of all, the Church. If this institution was to a large extent made by man

¹ Painter, F. V. N., *Great Pedagogical Essays*, selections from Luther's *Letters to the Mayors and Aldermen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools*, American Book Company, 1905, p. 174.

and therefore could be unmade back to the Biblical foundations, it was increasingly felt that any institution might be modified. Moreover, it was held that the accumulating findings of science showed that much of the world and its phenomena operated according to natural law and not by the personal direction of God. Why then believe social institutions to be exceptions to this mode of operation?

Gradually out of this came the growing conviction that men were created with relatively equal endowments and had natural rights which were shamefully violated by the social system. The student will think of such men as Rousseau, Voltaire and Thomas Paine in this connection. Then that eminent philosopher John Locke advanced the notion that men's minds at birth were much the same—without content. The inference became possible that the obvious differences to be observed in minds must be due solely to environment. All this type of thinking was dangerous to social institutions and to fixed societies, and revolutions occurred. Out of these conflicts new states or new feelings of statehood emerged.

The problem of the leaders of the new states was how to make the hitherto largely neglected masses into worthy citizens with their latent capabilities developed and their patriotic loyalties aroused. A new type of citizen was demanded by the new state but where could he be given the requisite education? Clearly existing institutions did not so function as to provide it. However, the schools in the past had been called upon to do those things which were regarded as necessary for the welfare of groups or institutions but which the latter did not themselves do. With such an attitude toward the functioning of the school already becoming a part of this institution it was but natural that once again it rise to the fore.

Hence in France it was proposed by such men as Condorcet that a system of public schools be established which would produce the kind of men and citizens desired for the new state. In America during the first decades of the nineteenth century the belief was voiced in many quarters that the states should

look to the school for all to produce the type of citizen needed to make republican government succeed. The newly organized American Philosophical Society offered a prize for the best plan "adapted to the genius of the government of the United States; comprehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country. . . ." ¹ In Prussia after the military reverses of the early years of the same century more decided efforts were made to utilize the schools for national ends.

Now whether the school is to train citizens for the good life as pictured by liberals like Condorcet or for more narrow nationalistic ends as in Prussia makes little difference for our understanding of the general way it functions. The significant thing is that the school is becoming more and more recognized as the institution which looks after functions not adequately provided for by other institutions but deemed essential by them.

The Industrial Crisis. Through the period of which we have been speaking there had been in this country no wide-spread attempt to have schools provide vocational education. Even throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century formal education had little part in this except in occasional independent schools, a few academies, and in a scattering of poorly supported courses in some city high schools which were just beginning to appear. Girls secured their preparation for the work of home-making through living in homes. Apprenticeship although becoming increasingly ineffective was the usual entry to trades and industry and in a modified form to a number of the professions. Over 50 per cent of the population was rural (even as late as 1910 this was true) and no better preparation for farm occupations seemed possible than that acquired through growing up or living on a farm.

By 1900, however, changes in all these things were becoming distinctly noticeable and it began to be recognized that home training, apprenticeship and other institutional agencies were

¹ Quoted by E. W. Knight in *Education in the United States*, New Edition, Ginn, 1934, p. 146.

failing to give the vocational education needed. One of the consequences of this break-down can be anticipated in the light of the historic functioning of the school just reviewed. It was the kind of institution to which people looked when in need. Hence in the case of vocational education it is not surprising to read: "Thus the responsibility has been forced on the school for training previously provided more or less adequately by other social agencies."¹

So much for the historic role of institutionalized education and the insights it provides on what the school's educational functions have been recognized to be in the past.

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN THE TOTAL EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

Before attempting to work out a general statement of that part of education for which this institution is responsible at present, we should examine several current viewpoints.

Residual View. Most simply stated this view holds that since the school "is the only institution whose sole purpose is training the young . . . it must assume responsibility for every phase of education not otherwise provided for."² And there are many people in this country who accept this as a generally accurate conception of the specific responsibilities of the school. Others, perhaps, will wish to qualify the application of the concept so that only important, neglected learnings are to become the residual legacy of the school, but thinking beyond this modification is apt to cease. In effect the practical consequences are much the same as that of the more simple statement. For who is to say that a given learning is not important, especially when it is backed by the "better element" or espoused by a national citizens league? The governor if not the president may be persuaded to designate a week by its name to signalize its surpassing importance.

¹ Inglis, A., *Principles of Secondary Education*, Houghton Mifflin, 1918, p. 578.

² Smith, W. R., *op. cit.*, p. 120.

As a result the school is under constant pressure to do this or that which it is said is not being attended to elsewhere and many aspects of its work may be attributed to the acceptance of the implied obligation.¹

Unfortunately, however, there is a limit to what the school can do successfully. Its schedule does not provide enough time to make it physically possible to heed every call made upon it for some element of education otherwise neglected. Teachers are protesting that only inefficiency can result from complete acceptance of the residual view. If unconvinced of the truth of this statement the reader has only to consult some teacher who has attempted to make his work participate in the continual round of special days or weeks for this or that (Clean-up and Paint-up week for example) and in the emphasis of even perfectly legitimate needs (safety education for example). But undoubtedly if the present curriculum were reorganized and a part deleted more of these demands could be met. Evaluation of the present curriculum is clearly called for.

A more fundamental criticism of the operation of the residual view is that too infrequently there seems to be no attempt really to ascertain whether the neglected elements are so important that they deserve a place in the school. Since this often means the displacement or reduction of work already being done there should be determined the relative contribution of each to the essential education seen to be the need of all in Chapter III. Quite obviously every demand made on the basis of the residual view cannot qualify on this basis.

A further danger inheres in the uncritical acceptance of this view. Particularly are teachers and school people likely to run

¹ Whether or not he agrees with the allegations of the indignant professor of sociology whose address was reported in the *Boston Post* of January 12, 1930, the reader may gain further understanding of the implications of the simple residual view through its repudiation. Said the professor: "Not only have we free books, but free lunch, free clothes and free transportation. In the schools the State inoculates the children against smallpox, insures them against tooth-ache, examines them for eyestrains, searches the inward parts for adenoids. Then there are trained nurses to inspect their food, to supervise their digestion, to feel their pulse, to test their sputum. The trend is clearly socialistic. It is weakening that sturdy American individualism without which democracy dies."

afoul of it. This is the tendency to believe that any or all education can better be provided in the school than by the other institutions. While this may be true of some learning, there are limits to its applicability. Education is most effective when taking place in the life situation and relationships of which it is a natural part. As Inglis said, "The direct education coming through actual participation in the activities of society is far more valuable than the indirect education provided by the school as a preparation rather than a form of actual participation."¹

A final practical difficulty of the residual view may be mentioned, that of determining in a heterogeneous population such as ours what elements of education are not adequately provided for by the other social institutions. For example, how may we learn how many homes in a given community adequately provide sex education?

Despite these facts and the need of safeguards in its application the view is one of long standing as our review of the historic role of institutional education demonstrated. The school has developed into that kind of institution which functions in a residual and supplementary capacity. The trouble is that the loose way in which this function is usually conceived is confusing in a period when many pressure groups make demands upon it and rapid social change suggests needs.

Mental Development View. A few decades ago before mental discipline lost much of its popularity it would have been less difficult to formulate a succinct statement of the view held by those who may be included under this heading. The chief value of education was considered to lie in its contribution to the training of the mental faculties. As a result of such things as the findings of studies in the transfer of training & the discarding by psychologists of faculties, the former idea of mental discipline has been rejected or fallen into the background. People, however, who would disclaim a belief in the scientific

¹ Inglis, A., *op. cit.*, p. 349.

validity of mental discipline frequently do not dispossess themselves of its correlative expectation that the school develop mentality. Thus in their definition of the especial task of the school there is reflected that viewpoint. Other people tend to have great faith in the value of the so-called "traditional subjects" of study but when asked for reasons are inclined to fall back on assertions of their worth for mental development, if indeed any reason is given.

There are, therefore, great differences among the exponents of this type of view which make it difficult to express it in any concise way which would be fair to all. An example or two may prove a more satisfactory way of elucidation.

President-emeritus Henry S. Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching phrased the sentiment of some regarding the school when he said:

The courses of study should be fewer and simpler, and should look toward the training of the habits of the mind rather than the furnishing of information. In other words character and the ability to think are the real aims of the elementary school. It should be a free school, but the purchase of books by the state should cease. The American people are being made soft by this sort of coddling. . . .

In the secondary schools, as in the grade schools, the need for a simple curriculum is pressing. Today the secondary schools will be found to offer, in one state or another, the most amazing mass of studies, literary, scientific, and vocational. Everything from philosophy to journalism can be studied, in name at least, in the secondary schools in our country. A more simple, sincere, and consequently a less expensive regime, supported partly by the state and partly by tuition, should take the place of that which now obtains.¹

On the other hand, there is the intelligent parent who is displeased with a school program including current events, study of economic and political problems of contemporary life, student

¹ Pritchett, H. S., *The Deflation of Public Education*, Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the President and Treasurer, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1932, p. 47.

courts, printing shops, etc., and suggests as the proper scope of school activity the following:

The only suitable sources for the child's growing culture are what they always were: literature, especially history; all the arts, with every possible chance to interpret them; natural science on its broadest lines. If education has any value in itself (as distinct from teaching children trades by which to earn their living) this value must be based on knowing what has happened in this world from the beginning of it. All this has been written down for thousands of years and we call it history and literature. . . .

I am just obstinate enough to contend that I should much rather have my children fill their plastic minds with other pupil's great thoughts for a few years than to publish their own. . . .¹

A conservative, when observing some of the things that go on in the name of education, is likely to feel sympathy with the viewpoint. Our problem, however, is to consider the adequacy of such a program for the school. One merit is found in the lack of duplication, for under it there is little chance that the school with its traditional subjects and the other institutions will overlap greatly in the education they provide. Not that this viewpoint necessarily demands a curriculum of traditional subjects, but if the newer applications or outgrowths of these old subjects are insisted upon, it would suggest that something besides mental development is being sought.

Actually this point of view has produced bookish and moribund school learning often in the past. Not many people would seriously wish to see a return to the school program of the previous century, much less the centuries preceding that. Further the school cannot do so as the very nature of the institution makes it impossible as seen in its development.

A limitation in the mental development program was its extreme individualistic effect and some of its adherents today show the result in their fatalistic discussions of the alleged lack

¹ Bacon, J. A., "Your Child and Mine," *Century Magazine*, 118 (July 1929), pp. 286 and 288.

of educability of a considerable portion of our population. Forsooth they say that because many of the children in school today do not or would not profit by a curriculum for mental development and discipline they are *ipso facto* uneducable. There should be a return it is argued to this curriculum which would better serve also as a "testing, selecting and distributing agency," to use the expression of Sorokin.¹ But the school is a social institution with another type of function and it has responsibilities beyond the provision of an arena where pupils of certain special capacity vie with each other in individualistic competition.

Again to the extent that proponents of this type of view have a definite program in mind, they have not derived it from a consideration of what the total education needed by the child is. They do not make that the starting point: instead their attention is concentrated on what the school might give the child, which is putting the cart before the horse. Others of this point of view define their position in such general terms that its chief use is in telling what things should not be done by the school rather than what should.

Finally, though the answer is not yet entirely in hand as to the disciplinary value of education, it clearly will not justify a school program for the most part based upon mental development. This view then proves quite inadequate in throwing light on the proper sphere of responsibility of the school.

Progressive School View. If it was difficult to find a summarizing statement which would adequately present the varying viewpoints included under mental development, then it might seem well-nigh impossible in the case of the divergent practices and ideologies of progressive education.

For example, a national committee of educators after much study of the "activity movement" states that this should be distinguished from progressive education as the latter is more inclusive and comprises other features than the principles of

¹ Sorokin, P., *Social Mobility*, Harpers, 1927, p. 188.

activity.¹ Yet the ideas associated with the meaning of the term activity are said to be: pupil development through freedom, stimulation of initiative, creativeness, self-expression, and the achievement of responsibility and self-control through experience in self-management.² These are the same ideas which are central in the work of very many "progressive schools." Even within what the committee designated the "activity movement" there are extremely wide differences ranging from retention of a belief in certain knowledges and skills as fundamental to the antithesis of this. Using the name progressive are many other types of school programs, some of which seem chiefly to emphasize mental health and hygiene of pupils, in others it is physical development, still others make individual education the watchword, yet others are devoted especially to the cultivation of creative and artistic expression, and of course there are combinations of the above.³

Despite dissimilarities among the proponents of progressive education it is probably fair to say that at the core of the movement are found such common elements of creed as the following:

- | That child interest and purpose are both necessary for real learning and supply the clues to the kind of learning activity which will be most fruitful for a given child.
- | That since learning is individual there can be no set goals or standards. This appears also in objections to all "indoctrination."
- | That the *whole child*, not just his intellect and skills or any other fragmentary or compartmentalized segment, should be the concern of education.
- | That the development of the whole child is most completely realized through methods allowing freedom and creative

¹ *Thirty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Public School Publishing Co., 1934, Part II, "The Activity Movement," p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

³ The student should read some critique of the movement in order to feel at home with the various aspects. Such a volume might well be that of Rugg, H. and Shumaker, A., *The Child Centered School*, World Book Co., 1928. On pages 54-64 will be found an exposition of the fundamental tenets of such schools.

self-expression. In a letter written in 1933 by the head of a well-known progressive school the thought just indicated was stated in these words: "We shall provide more freedom and opportunity for the student to develop individual interests and for the release of creative energies."

That in keeping with principles such as the above the program of the school should emphasize participation in worthwhile activities and meaningful experiences rather than be subject-centered. These activities will almost surely grow out of or be continuous with the activities of out-of-school life and thus the school program becomes vital and real to the child instead of being artificial and detached.

Some of the elements of strength in the movement come from the corrections offered for weaknesses of the so-called traditional schools. There has been in the past and still often is too much emphasis upon the mere learning under the aegis of mental development of subject-matter which does not function after being learned. The emphasis given by progressive education to the value of interest in learning, while no monopoly of the movement, has aided in securing a more adequate evaluation of this factor.

On the other hand, progressive education does not as yet have a completely thought out answer to the question of what part the school should play in the total education of the child, and this for several reasons. First, there is an implicit assumption in its theory to the effect that the child has within himself the potentialities needed for complete living. Adults need only to provide a stimulating and wholesome environment for self-expression to run its course. Hence, the stress on creativeness, on freedom, on no goals, on objection to indoctrination, on activity. Such an assumption runs contrary to what we learned about the nature of development of human personality in Chapter II.

Second, shorn of such implicit assumptions or of its equally unexpressed social implications, the movement resolves itself into a method of education, offering valuable help on the way content should be organized and taught for child development,

but few criteria useful in choosing the content. Continued postponement of remedying this deficiency and of formulating an accompanying social theory has led to severe criticism of the movement by a small group within the progressive ranks itself.

In some situations there is much overlapping between school education and that provided by other institutional agencies. Because of the very nature of the concept of meaningful activity as that which grows out of the child's experience some overlapping is not only inevitable but desirable. Nevertheless, there should be limits. It also arises because of the lack of or distrust of any theory of the nature of the whole education needed by the individual (other than that which is implied by such terms as "the whole child") and because of the further omission in its principles of realistically taking into consideration the contributions to the whole which are made by the other social institutions.

The inadequacy of children's interests as entirely reliable guides to needed education has been repeatedly pointed out. Also in its operation in schools the movement at times reveals the weakness of fostering an "unlovely individualism" instead of the intelligent cooperativeness required by a highly integrated society.

Other criticisms have been made both of such theory as progressive education has developed and of its practices as found in schools today.¹ But it is sufficient here to point out that at present it neither adequately considers the total education needed for the development of personality nor offers an account of the particular education for which the school is responsible. Both are vital.

A Sociological Suggestion. The discussion of the foregoing positions indicates a point of view which must be considered in an adequate answer as to the part of the school. Clearly no conception of the particular scope of the school program is possible unless the point of departure is the nature of the total

¹ See references at the end of the chapter.

education needed for effective human personality. The latter was seen in the previous chapter to be the goal of education as stated in individualistic terms. For the realization of this goal it was further seen that participation in institutional living is essential. Thus the nature of the needed education is one including basic culture elements involved in the functioning of the social institutions. The desirable and practicable scope of education would be as broad as the number and types of institutions demonstrated by race experience to be the fundamental ones (marital, recreational, economic, religious, locality groupings, governmental, etc.).

Having then a rough picture of the nature of the whole education needed for effective personality and the satisfaction of basic wants, we are in a position to enquire as to the school's particular functions. At the outset of this enquiry before general principles can be derived descriptive of those functions two things are necessary. In the first place, we must know what is the nature of the school as an educational institution at present. No amount of wishful thinking or idealistic romanticizing about its potentialities for human betterment will supply this knowledge. It can come only from an understanding of just what relationships this institution sustains to the other social institutions and the type of functioning which to this time has been an inherent part of its culture patterns. These relationships and functioning are the outcome of years of development. This is not to deny that change in functioning may rather suddenly occur but merely its probability unless some dominant institution like the state seizes the schools for its own purposes. An understanding, therefore, of their nature and an appreciation of their import can best be derived from the sociological history of the institution. Our review of this showed that the school very clearly was a supplementary agency in its relationships with other institutions and functioned in both supplementary and residual capacities. That means then that the school at present is the kind of institution which by its very nature supplies education not adequately provided elsewhere.

In the second place, we must know what parts of the needed whole education can be secured from the fundamental institutions themselves. We also need to know about the effectiveness of institutional functioning, what inadequacies there appear to be and what the trends of changes are. For individuals need not only to participate in them but to improve them in so far as it is possible.

It is recognized that institutions have always supplied some or much of the learnings needful for effective personality but we must have more exact knowledge than this. There must, therefore, be examination of the fundamental spheres of institutional activity to learn what elements of education they formerly provided, what they now provide, what the institutional needs at present are, what education they seem best adapted to give (regardless of whether at present this is being done effectively), and if the last is ineffectively given what the probabilities are for the future. For example, if it should be determined in this way that by its nature the home was best adapted to give sex education but was failing to do so, the school might undertake it as a residual function. But in such a case the school might attempt to supply it in such a way that the pupils upon growing up and making homes themselves would be able to handle this at home and thus transfer the learning back to the institution where it should be most effectively given.

It should now be evident that to determine the particular lines of education for which the school is responsible at present will involve a study of the fundamental spheres of institutional activity and the work of the school in relation to each. In no other way can the problem be approached. The seven succeeding chapters attempt such a preliminary analysis.

General principles, however, descriptive of the especial role of the school can be derived in the light of the considerations brought out thus far. First, the school's sphere of action in general is supplementary and residual in the senses that it provides educations considered essential but which have not elsewhere been given and that it takes over educations no

longer afforded by other social institutions. Second, since the curriculum is crowded, since school attendance is compulsory over a period of years implying the essential value of its work for all, since there is the practice of requiring certain courses with a like implication, since there is constantly great pressure from minority groups in behalf of many new undertakings, only those elements of education should be attempted which are clearly and demonstrably a part of the total education needed for effective personality with its participation in the life of the fundamental social institutions of our day. Third, in so far as is not incompatible with the previous criterion for the highest value to pupils so much of the work of the school as possible should be organized with a view to pupil interests.

So much for general principles. We have now to carry out the application, first of all in the case of the family which is the organized form of the marital institution.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. It has been said that a society has never left to chance the learning of those elements which it deemed for the good of all. Is this true? What part has the school played in respect to this situation?

2. The point is made by Young in *An Introductory Sociology* that although changes in the general cultural trends may influence the purposes of education, it plays everywhere an important role in the individual's development "in fitting him" for a position in community life. With which of the views discussed in this chapter does this more nearly correspond?

3. Compare and contrast the views of Rousseau on child nature and development and those of advocates of the "child-centered school."

4. What criticisms can be made of the interpretation of educational evolution presented in this chapter, namely, that schools have performed the residual and supplementary functions desired by the dominant groups of a society?

5. How do the views of George S. Counts upon the indoctrinating functions of education differ from those discussed? See his "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?"

6. The opinion is sometimes expressed, as it has been by H. C. Morri-

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son, that the obligation for educating rests primarily upon the family, while the state's only responsibility is to provide for the transmission of the essentials of civilization for the common good. Do court decisions in this country uphold this view? What is your own opinion of its merits?

7. Suppose the nature of education were no longer to be prescribed by the dominant classes, how then should it be determined?

8. In terms of social change and the factors important therein, describe the changes which have taken place in educational ideals.

9. It has long been recognized that in this country the textbooks determine to a large extent the actual offerings of schools. Control of the curriculum thus in part centers in control of the texts. Typical of what happens in many places was a situation in one of the large Middle-Atlantic cities in 1935, in which certain groups in the community vigorously protested the use in social science courses of two books, *Modern History* and *Changing Civilization in the Modern World*. A special committee of the local board of education was appointed and after investigation reported that the books were free from communistic taint and suitable for school use. State what principles the committee should keep in mind while making their decision. Can decisions of which books shall be used be based entirely upon objective, factual grounds or must the emotional interpretations placed upon their content by citizens also be considered? To be suitable for use should the social purposes the writer expresses in a book always coincide with the social ideals of the populace? What sociological factors will determine the limits of possible divergence between the two?

10. It is stated by Chapman and Counts that "Society has usually provided for no more education than was required by the dictates of convention and the demands of powerful interests." How important does the first of their factors, the dictates of convention, seem to have been historically?

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CHAPTER V

RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO THE FAMILY

In an earlier chapter it was stated that, of the institutional groupings, the family was regarded by sociologists as one of the most vitally important. Among other reasons, it has been considered indispensable because of the character of its contributions to the education and personalities of children. Only in the family is there likely to be that same degree of intimacy and directness of interaction between personalities which would lead to its being correctly classified as foremost among the primary social groups.¹

In contrast with this thought of the very essential role the family has played in the social structure is the question raised about its present status, at least as far as writers of the recent years go. A glance at a list of articles which have appeared discloses numerous titles such as: "Decline of the American Family," "Must We Scrap the Family?" "The Changing Family in a Changing World," "After the Family, What?" "Children Home to Roost," "My Grudge against My Parents," "What Is the Family Still Good For?" and "Menace of Childless Homes." On the other hand, there are some titles which suggest a different picture: "Children Pay," "In Defense of Happy Homes," "Family Recreation the Most Fruitful Feature of Home Life," and "Permanent Values of the Family."

On the face of it the family institution appears to be a modern Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde which alternately blights and blesses, especially blights, without the participants being able to do much about it. Be that as it may, and despite its critics, the family is still to be reckoned with, and since the school shares with it in education it behooves us to learn as much as

¹ See the topic *Social Groups* in Chapter I.

possible about its functioning, particularly along educational lines.

Before an understanding of its present functioning is possible there must be some knowledge of the different culture traits that have massed together to form the patterns of the family. This institution, like any other, is an evolutionary aggregate and an appreciation of its nature can best be approached from that standpoint.

BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY

The middle class family of England of the seventeenth century provided the nucleus for the development in this country since for the most part the early colonists were drawn from this group. Its stereotypes thus compose the initial structure.

English Middle Class Families of the 17th Century. The husband in almost every sense of the word was the head of the household, his authority deriving from accepted customs or law. Even after the middle of this century when the courts began to refuse to sanction corporal punishment of a wife by her husband there was slight change in the popular view as to his prerogative in the matter. On the other hand, she was beginning to have some redress for marked cruelty or neglect. He had, however, control of her personal goods and might even sell her jewels and ornaments. If she possessed any real estate he was entitled to the rentals and profits which might arise from it during the period of the marriage. Her general relation to him as accepted by most individuals was expressed by John Milton in the statement that God made woman for marriage but marriage for man. Considered definitely the inferior of the two, the wife's chief sphere of activity was encompassed by catering to the wants of her husband and by being a virtuous housewife. Although legally and by tradition women occupied a place of subordination, many of them held a higher place in general estimation than these two types of limitations would suggest. Also as time went on this became more true.

In these same middle class families children were under the complete guardianship of the fathers, many of whom still followed the practice of apprenticing them at an early age to learn trades. Any wages earned by them, or any profits, accrued to the father. Discipline was severe and the civil authorities rarely stepped between a parent and his child to protect the latter, as is the custom at present. There was very little parental affection in too many instances and children were expected by all to pay every deference to their parents and observe attitudes of extreme respect. However, among the Puritan families an increasing toleration and warmth of relationship was to be found. It was expected that every girl would master the household arts of cooking, brewing, spinning, weaving, making clothes, etc., in her own home before she would be qualified to marry.

Marriages were very generally arranged by the parents with an eye to what would be fitting and suitable and not infrequently profitable economically and socially. This was most usual at an early age while the children were minors and objections, especially on the part of a daughter, only occasionally were of avail. Thus there was little of romance at the time of entering upon marriage, although, of course, affection often developed afterwards. To a man marriage might be desirable for several personal and social reasons aside from any advantages through a fortunate union. To a woman marriage was almost the only career open and an escape from being branded a failure. In the Puritan interpretation sex was something unwholesome in the human make-up, belonging to the lower side of his nature, and continence, in theory, was desirable. If this were impossible, then marriage with its sex expression afforded the best make-shift for these lower impulses.

A change in the view of the nature of marriage was taking place in England at this time due to the Reformation. It was not very pronounced with the middle class Anglicans, many of whom tended to regard marriage in true orthodox fashion as a religious sacrament. But spreading among them, and prevalent among Dissenters, was the idea that marriage was a civil con-

tract, an affair of community and state jurisdiction rather than that of the Church. Such a position pointed to eventual determination of the grounds for divorce by civil authorities rather than by the Church. Further, since marriage was temporal and not divine, several causes of misery such as extreme cruelty, desertion and adultery which were then only grounds for separation might with propriety be urged as sufficient for absolute divorce. For a time though, both marriage and divorce continued to be controlled at least in form by the ecclesiastical authorities. Yet in the Puritan groups where village life was customary, community opinion and interest were increasingly important as regulative factors in both the pre-marriage courtship and engagement ceremony and in the later conduct of married life.

Romantic love as stated above did not ordinarily cut much of a figure in the marriage plans but that does not mean that there was no romantic tradition. The tendencies for men to idealize women, or accept them as worthy equals in some situations, or to find pleasure in serving them are well recognized parts of the chivalric code of the Middle Ages. During the Renaissance years it was frequently held that romance and marriage were incompatible and that the former only was possible in extra-marital relations. Thus the respectability of a romantic attachment might even come into question. It is hardly to be wondered at then, with other conditions being what they were, that there was little romanticism in the middle class marriages of the seventeenth century. But the sentiment and motive were recognized and changing conditions might give them new status—as indeed was the case in this country.

Modifying Influences in America. The major institutional outlines at first were set by the English background, a Puritan embodiment arising in New England and an Anglican with some class distinctions being, in part, reproduced in the South. The Quakers and several racial groups, mostly middle class Protestants from northern Europe, were found in between.

In many respects their family mores were similar to those of the English Dissenters. As the religious persecution of Europe faded into the past there was a tendency to relax the former prohibitions of participation by the Church in marriage. There is no need, however, to discuss all such changes.¹ Rather it will be to our advantage to summarize the influences of four major factors in the development of the American family.

First, Frontier Life. The pioneer conditions under which people lived for so long have modified thought and practice greatly. These placed a premium upon individual initiative and worth whether in man, woman or child. Village life even was impossible for a great many. In some ways at first these isolated families became closer units because of the lack of community regulative opinion or of help. Women would rise in importance because of their demonstrated equal capacity with men in divers situations. Early marriage and free land made it possible for children to leave home earlier and distance often intervened to further weaken family ties. New types of family relationships thus arose to contest the patriarchal, community regulated traditions.

Second, Individualism and Democracy. In Europe during the eighteenth century a growing army of publicists were spreading doctrines of personal and individual rights. Such a movement coming at a time when conditions here emphasized already the importance of each individual and gave an unprecedented measure of freedom, would find wide currency. Expressed in tangible form in the Declaration of Independence, the doctrines of human equality and inalienable rights took root to become part of the concept of political democracy. The individualistic emphases flourished on our soil and the democratic ideal has been extended so that today there is general stress upon the sacredness of personality, opportunity and rights, and upon the essential rightness of the desires of the individual. The effects on the family have been further to create opinion favor-

¹ A lively account of the colonial family is given by W. Goodsell in *A History of the Marriage and the Family*, Revised Edition, Macmillan, 1934, Chap. IX.

able to equality between husbands and wives, while the latter are being urged by some not to impose their ideas upon their children. There should be no dictation to any member of the family, but each should be free to live his own life. In the choice of mates children should be left to make their own decisions. Easy divorce is sanctioned by the individualistic trend also.

Third, Romanticism. As a result of some of the features of colonial life there began to appear here and there, especially early in the South, not the extra-marital form of romantic love of Europe but a romantic attitude toward marriage itself. Individualism and romanticism mutually stimulated each other in their growth in this country. Moreover, as Mowrer points out, romantic love and Puritanism have likenesses as well as differences.¹ For both the ideal union is permanent. But, instead of looking upon sex as unclean, the former romanticizes it as the symbol of the unification of two personalities. It is this blending of personalities in a perfect companionship for life which is the goal. As parents and community mores less and less prompted the choice of mates, individuals more and more followed the promptings of their own romantic emotions and desires. Too, since adaptability of personality cannot be surely determined in advance, there tends to be emphasis upon freedom of divorce as a means of finding the right partner.

Fourth, Industrialization and Urbanization. As the rise of industrialization and factory manufacture removed former activities and responsibilities from the home, then one or both of the parents for much of the day, and then caused the family to move to the cramped conditions of city living, there was still further modification of the institution. Many of the effects of these changes constitute present problems in its functioning and are to be examined below. During these same years there was large immigration of workers with whom the family patterns presented a different profile still. Paternal authority, early marriage, a tendency to regard marriage as a sacrament and

¹ Mowrer, E. R., *The Family*, University of Chicago Press, 1932, p. 16.

under Church jurisdiction were some of the elements reintroduced into the American development.

Enough has been said of the background of the institution in this country to show the diverse elements entering into it. Various combinations and permutations of these elements are discovered among our thirty million families.

PRESENT STATUS AND FUNCTIONING OF THE FAMILY

With such varying components in the family institution as it has developed, no simple generalizations can adequately picture the status and functioning. And so intimately tied up with the whole social structure is the family that an understanding of much of what is happening in the former becomes prerequisite. Moreover, the student should guard against thinking of families purely in terms of what is true for his own or those of his acquaintances. Reference to the traits found among many families of the different socio-economic areas of a city suggest the variations possible. For example, the authority of the husband, extent of divorce, position of woman, control over the children, etc., tend to differ among the families of the slum area, the workers' district, the better residential areas and the area of suburban homes. Yet at the same time some help is gained through the observation of certain of the more objective features of family life as a whole and noting of changes which may be in process.

Institutional Status. For some years marriages have been taking place at earlier ages. For example, in the age group 15 to 19 there were 15 more married persons per one thousand population in 1930 than there were in 1890 while in the age group 20-24 the increase was 73 per thousand during the same period. Where studies have been made it has been found that the age of marriage is earlier in rural regions than in cities.¹ However, according to one careful student of such statistics

¹Duncan, O. D., "The Factor of Age in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (January 1934), p. 474.

the last decade witnessed slightly later marriages, especially for boys and young men.¹ Should this prove a temporary reversal and earlier marriage again set in, among other interesting effects might be those on adult education for these ages and for secondary education itself with its counter tendency to last longer.

Early marriage was in part an effect of an increase in the proportion of those married in the general population, a quite contrary trend from the decline prophesied by some radical critics of the family. Whereas, of the population 15 years of age and over, 55.3 per cent were married in 1890, there were 60.5 per cent married in 1930. Even if the increased number of middle aged people in that period is discounted, there remains an increase of 2.3 per cent.² Although the total number of women living in rural areas today is less than that of the city dwellers, the proportion of married women is higher in the country than in the city. A general estimate of 10 per cent has been suggested as the extent of discouragement from matrimony brought about by urban conditions.

Another change in the family pattern which has several ramifications is the decrease in the number of children. Not only are proportionately fewer children born and the average family smaller than formerly but there are more homes with no children. Ogburn presents sample studies indicating that 31 per cent or nearly one-third of all unbroken families with wives under forty-five years of age had no children or none living at home in 1930. The percentage of families with no children in 1900 was 28. There is a progressive increase in the proportion of childless homes as one passes from the rural areas to the small towns, cities and finally to Chicago, where the percentage is 49.³ In absolute numbers there has been a slight increase in the number of rural homes with children in the last thirty years. Each census since 1860 has shown a

¹ Ogburn, W. F. and Tibbitts, C., "The Family and Its Functions," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 680.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 680-681.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 687.

smaller proportion of the population under five years of age. In 1930 the percentage was 9.3. In 1920 the number of births per one thousand population was approximately 27 while in 1932 it had fallen to 18.¹

In the sample studies referred to above it was shown that the size of the average family declined from 3.67 persons in 1900 to 3.57 in 1930, not a very great difference. Actually the farm families showed an increase of about the same magnitude, 3 per cent, while in the cities the decrease was slightly larger, 4 per cent.² Much has been heard in recent years about the differential birth rate which results in different sized families in the varying occupational classes, especially in larger families among the poorer classes. As is to be expected, Ogburn finds in his sample studies the smallest families (the average being 3.01 persons) among the professional classes, while at the opposite extreme, among farm owners and renters, the average family had 4.48 members.³ Unskilled laborers had larger families than did the semi-skilled and the skilled, their average being 3.91 persons.

The figures collected for the United States census reports show the sizes of households, which term includes parents, children, relatives, lodgers and servants. Even this more comprehensive unit has decreased in size by something like 13 per cent in the three decades preceding 1930. In 1900 it averaged 4.6 persons and in the latter year, 4.1. During the depression years the decline has continued.⁴

Disorganizing factors are commonly given more publicity than the more constructive, which perhaps may account for the fact that the average citizen is well aware of the growing extent of divorce but does not know of the increasing percentage of marriages. He may not realize, however, that the highest divorce rate of any country for which figures are avail-

¹ Ogburn, W. F., "The Background of the New Deal," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (May 1934), p. 730.

² Ogburn, W. F. and Tibbitts, C., *op. cit.*, p. 683.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 686-687.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 682.

able is that of the United States (with the possible exception of Soviet Russia, as stated by Ogburn). And young men and women marching to the altar even if they know are inclined to doubt the significance for them of the fact that, in 1930, for every six marriages there was one divorce, and this year was the low water mark of several decades. As a matter of fact since 1880 there has been about a 3 per cent increase per year in the number of divorces per one thousand population; in 1930 it was 1.3. In 1915 it was 1.7. Divorce rates are highest in the western mountain states and on the Pacific coast and lowest on the Atlantic seaboard, also in urban homes as compared with the rural.¹

Another change in institutional status is taking place in regard to the division of work between the sexes. Formerly man's sphere was without the home and woman's the work of the home. During the last few decades especially have married women sought gainful employment in the ways their unmarried sisters had earlier shown them. In 1900 women were 17.7 per cent of all employed persons while in 1930 they were 21.9 per cent. Of these employed women the married comprised 15 per cent in 1900, whereas in 1930 the percentage had risen to 29. The acceleration of the trend is shown by the fact that, in the decade ending in 1930, the number of married women working outside the home increased 60 per cent, while the total number of married women increased only 23 per cent.² In the latter year there were 11.7 per cent of all married women gainfully employed.

Finally, there is the continuance of the trend toward urbanization already mentioned. In several of the family changes discussed above, differences between rural and urban areas were seen. Any alterations in this distribution of the population would be closely related to further acceleration or retardation of these changes. The rapid growth of urban popu-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 692-693.

² Woodhouse, C. G., "Women," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (May 1933), p. 893.

lation is therefore highly significant of both cause and effect relationships. According to the United States census reports 71.4 per cent of the population in 1880 lived in communities of less than 2,500 inhabitants; in 1890 the percentage had fallen to 60.0; in 1920 the percentage was 48.6; and in 1930 it was 43.8. At the other end of the scale in 1890 only 12 per cent lived in cities of more than 250,000 inhabitants while in 1930 the percentage had risen to 23. And with the crowding of cities goes the cramping of family living quarters. McKenzie cites figures for 257 cities of 25,000 population or over to show that between 1921 and 1928 the percentage of one family dwellings dropped from 58.3 to 35.2, whereas the multiple family dwellings increased from 24.4 per cent to 53.7 in the same years.¹ Another aspect of urbanization can be seen in mode of life and mental habits of the people of open country areas.

Functional Changes. Part and parcel of the changes in institutional status already traced has been a diminution in the functions performed by the family. The ensuing transfer of functions to other agencies has not progressed to the same extent for all types of homes but suggests even further shifting in the future.

Economically, greater and greater dependence has replaced a relative independence. Formerly the family functioned as a unit to supply its own needs. Less and less now even in rural areas is it producing for consumption but rather for sale. Under the earlier practice each member had an integral part in the productive activities and thus economically the family was strongly knit together. However, many rural families still do their churning, canning and preserving, drying of fruits, butchering of hogs, making of lard, laundering, growing of fruits and vegetables, some sewing, baking and, of course, most of their cooking. Housewives in villages and cities perform some of these duties. But with decreasing frequency is there heard the

¹ McKenzie, R. D., "The Rise of Metropolitan Communities," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 474.

old pronouncement that only the shiftless have to buy "store goods" for their common needs.

Some of the evidence presented by Ogburn of the decline of the economic functions may be summarized.¹ In a sample study of over a thousand homes in 1930 it was revealed that two-thirds of the farm households used only baker's bread, as was the case in three-fourths of the village homes and nine-tenths of the city homes. Between 1914-1929 commercial canning or preserving of vegetables, fruits and soups doubled. Only 33 per cent of the urban homes do all their laundering at home. Whether the amount of home cooking in the city is declining is not clear, but it is a fact that the keepers of restaurants and lunchrooms increased 88 per cent in the decade ending in 1930 while the urban population only increased 26 per cent. The altered economic functioning of the home is made evident also by the increasing number of married women who are gainfully employed. On the other hand, children, except in rural areas, are as often economic liabilities as assets, since the home is no longer a production unit.

Up until about 1880 the home especially, but also other agencies, were considered adequate to provide most of the education required by children, with the exception of the five or six years of school instruction in the tool subjects. Since that time there has been a tendency to doubt the validity of this view, and the ages for compulsory school attendance have been greatly increased and there has been stricter enforcement. By 1900 there were 59 per cent of the children 5-17 years of age enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools while in 1928 the percentage was 80. In 1900 the average number of days in a session was 144, whereas in 1928 it was 172, thus keeping these children away from home 28 more school days a year.² In 1907 only twenty-three states had an upper compulsory age limit above fourteen, while in 1931 all but five states

¹ Ogburn, W. F. and Tibbitts, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 664-668.
² *Ibid.*, p. 677.

had limits higher than fourteen.¹ Although home education at the younger ages is valued highly more children five years old are shown by each census to be in school. Of the five year old group in 1910 there were 17.1 per cent in school; in 1930 there were 20 per cent.² In the case of city homes it is generally assumed that education of girls for home making is largely a lost function. On the other hand, many sons in the former large number of farm homes acquired their training for that and allied vocations at home. With the change in the type of homes, as well as the appearance of new occupational developments, much of this part of education has had to be transferred to without the family.

Presumably in the religious and moral fields many homes are less adequate than formerly. Studies of sample populations indicate that many city parents do not take their children to church, that family prayers and Bible reading are found in only a fifth or less of all families, and that observance of a blessing at meals is found in approximately only a third. It is commonly believed that city living conditions are reacting on traditional standards of morality, so that parents are less certain of what ethical principles to teach their children. It is also true that some families have never functioned to produce the conduct in their children which has been considered desirable. Nevertheless, the family is still a significant factor in the maintenance of ethical standards.

The family has by no means wholly lost its recreational functions. The mushroom-like expansion of outside facilities and opportunities for recreation, especially the commercialized forms, in recent years has inevitably meant that the family would provide a relatively smaller part of the whole. Whereas the members had only occasional inducements to go without the home for recreation in the past when rural conditions offered the opportunity, there are now a myriad

¹ Judd, C. H., *Problems of Education in the United States*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

alluring calls. Yet the home is still the center for many such interests.

In the case of some of the services required for individual well-being, the family is playing a lesser role. To a larger extent health service is being placed under the supervision of outside agencies. Although many unattached or incompetent individuals related to families are still being cared for by the latter, the public is assuming more of these responsibilities—as shown in part by the growth of facilities for the aged, the insane and the feeble-minded. And doubtless one reason for the growth of the public school system is the increasing acceptance of a view expressed by Judd, namely, that schools are agencies set up to provide children with the proper conditions of life which cannot be had elsewhere.¹

Changing Family Relationships. Women are not now as dependent upon marriage for a career as formerly; they are, in increasing numbers, gainfully employed after marriage and have thereby gained an independence which is bringing about more equality between husbands and wives. It seems probable that patriarchal traits will continue to decline under modern conditions and more families come to some sort of "equalitarian" basis. Also more general acceptance of a view that marriages are not pre-ordained gives women more freedom in refusing to put up with marital discord.

As the functions of the family have declined, each sex has fewer reasons for undertaking married life with resulting magnification of the romantic motive, the desire for companionship. But the latter necessitates a closer adjustment of the personalities of the two individuals for satisfying living than marriage on other bases. Other features of the family patterns make such an ideal adjustment difficult of achievement. And the rather limiting conditions for acquaintance before marriage afforded by cities make a wise choice hard. The success of the subsequent married life of a couple on this basis often

¹ Judd, C. H., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

comes to be judged in terms of whether the romantic relationship is continued in much the same strain as during the courtship.

As home and life conditions have changed, children are having fewer responsibilities in the home and more outside. Fewer of their relationships with their parents are off the plane of personality adjustments as educational, recreational, moral, health and industrial bonds are weakened or destroyed. The acceleration of general social change and the greatly increased amount of education they are given further removes them from the mental horizon of their parents. The latter, on the other hand, in part as they sense this widening gap or under sway of the more individualistic conception of the family are allowing children vastly more freedom to live their own lives. As a result of fewer contacts between the two (also fewer children) there is danger of the affection of parents toward children becoming too highly charged with emotion and exacting in character. The spirit of the new attitudes toward children is symbolized in "The Children's Charter" formulated by the White House Conference of 1930. Children today are thus coming to enjoy a new status in society.

Present Familial Functions. In view of the weaknesses and defects of the family as developed in America and its difficulties at the present some thoughtful and informed persons have questioned whether our so-called monogamic family patterns are not basically *passé* and in need of radical revision. The direction of reform would lie in greater freedom in sex and mating both as cures for much present unhappiness and as means to more perfect unions. Regardless of the validity or lack of validity of these expectations, it must not be overlooked that, embodied in the present family, are centuries of human endeavor to achieve better satisfactions. Perhaps in some respects ill-adapted to the present, the central patterns, nevertheless, have taken precedence over other arrangements only after a long period of experimentation. And despite modern changes they still serve several important functions.

First, as brought out above, the family is the accepted medium of companionship between the sexes. This includes far more than mere physical sex relationships though the regulation of these in such a way as to conserve the highest social and individual good seems to have been achieved more effectively for the majority by the family than by other means. Sex desire may have provided the basis for some kind of union between primitive individuals, but the comradeship of modern personalities is also based upon cultural acquisitions such as affection and understanding. There are emotional qualities in this companionship of a higher order than those of the sex drive. Outside of the family sex more often tends to drop to its lowest dimensional values, approaching an animal level. On the other hand, the family at its best functions to provide the intimate interaction between two personalities within the ties of love, thus affording the conditions of continued personal development and increasing satisfactions. The family is needed to give the companionship between the sexes its highest values.

Second, the family is still the essential institution in the rearing and care of children. Its influence in the early years of childhood in shaping the course of developing personality has been so frequently treated as not to need repetition here. Suffice it to add that its part in transmitting the elements of the cultural heritage at the most impressionable ages is very great.

Yet, because in many homes some of the conditions for proper growth are lacking, the question is being raised whether the care and rearing of children might better be turned over to other institutions. Some features of child health, for example, are already being supervised from without the home. Could not the home be very largely dispensed with in the interests of better child care? The answer most decidedly is no. Although each of the specialized institutions might provide better care in respect to its specialty, it is concerned with only a part of the child or his personality. And this is true of schools even at their best, for they only touch part of his life. So although

there might be a gain for the several segments of the child's development, nowhere is his need for integration of the segments provided for as effectively as in the give and take of the family life. It is true that although the effectiveness of this in some families at present leaves much to be desired, this is no reason for ignoring the relatively good job of personality building which is being done in other families.

Third, there are a number of other functions still performed by the family although apparently in a decreasingly important way. Reference to these changes has already been made, but the family continues to be the unit for consumption of economic goods. It still remains the unit for allocating many social responsibilities, but doubtless it is not essential in this respect in that these duties could be transferred elsewhere.

PROGRAM OF THE SCHOOL IN RELATION TO THE FAMILY

What then should be the program of the school in relation to the family? As seen above, the family is by no means on the verge of becoming defunct nor does it fail to make important contributions to the education of children. There is no justification for the attitude sometimes exhibited even if not expressed by school people, which regards their institution as having superseded the family in relative significance for child development. Once while making the rounds of an insane asylum in Virginia with the attendant physician, the writer had his attention directed to a large, powerful fellow who suffered from the delusion that he was God. The physician put a few questions to the patient, as, "Did you make everything in the world?" "Can you do everything you wish?" Having received emphatic answers in the affirmative, the physician asked, "Then why don't you go home?" With crestfallen mien the patient replied, "My wife won't let me." And so we school people dream at times, wishing we had to consider less the parents who may not "let us." Parents, however, may have their own dreams and plans for children, and the family life provided by them makes its contribution for weal or woe in

the lives of our pupils. There is, therefore, every reason for school people to realize that they must work with the family in the joint educative enterprise.

Even if the narrowest conception of the autonomy of the school is held the furthering of its program still depends upon the cooperation of the homes. The multitudinous types of situations requiring this cooperation for effective handling may be suggested by the following: home study and its conduct, attendance, health and care of physical defects, behavior on school busses, lunches and cafeterias, scholarship, discipline, the school social program, after school extra-curricular programs, style of dress, etc.

Mutual Knowledge and Understanding. Obviously knowledge on the part of each as to what the other is attempting to do is indicated: Because of the magnitude and recency of the expansion of the work of the schools many parents feel at sea in regard to the whole business. They are not to be condemned but should be given the opportunity to understand. The school has an additional obligation in this respect since it is in part responsible for helping widen the gap between parents and children and thus rendering the home end of the process more difficult.

Several means of accomplishing this purpose are at hand, namely, associations of the parent-teacher type, home visitation by the school staff, school programs for parents, and a variety of things done to inform the public which may be classed as school publicity. The last will be discussed in connection with community problems in a later chapter.

The experience of all communities with the parent-teacher association has not been a happy one, yet the good outweighs the bad. Chartered in its present form in 1908, the real beginnings of the movement go back to meetings between mothers and teachers of kindergartens inaugurated during the second half of the last century. The organization has had steady growth and in 1932 numbered 1,393,454 paid members, affil-

iated with local branches in every state of the union.¹ A wide range of activity is possible for the local associations, so that while some are purely social in purpose, others raise money for needed school equipment, operate or supervise cafeterias, arrange for clinics, assist with discipline, supply milk for the undernourished, engage in partisan politics, suggest courses of study and textbooks, investigate methods of teaching, etc. The meetings may function as clearing houses for the exchange of ideas, views and knowledge of parents and teachers or degenerate into opportunities for factional controversy, airing of petty grievances and destructive criticism.

Despite the hazard of misdirected activity or the lack of program the majority of elementary school principals in cities feel that the associations are useful to the schools and worth fostering.² In some states it is a definite policy of the Department of Education to encourage the formation of associations, and helpful material is provided for their guidance. In California, for example, they are believed to have especial value for rural schools in the creation of better understanding and appreciation.³

Another way of bridging the gap between school and parents is for members of the school staff to visit in the homes. Only infrequently is the value of this practice questioned, yet in many instances nothing may be done about it—which leaves the matter to the individual teacher. Again the homeroom teachers may be designated for this service or the chief part of it may fall on special individuals like a school nurse or the visiting teacher in the larger cities. As a matter of fact, although the improved parental knowledge and attitudes may be marked as a result of visitation, the chief immediate beneficiaries are likely to be the teachers who are now in possession of the facts

¹ In Colorado 4.44 per cent of the population were members, while in Nevada there were only 47 individuals enrolled in the entire state. With the exception of this state, the movement is firmly established.

² "A National Survey of School-Community Contacts," *Eleventh Yearbook, Department of Elementary School Principles*, 1932, pp. 169-193.

³ *Handbook for Rural Parent Teacher Activities and Relationships*, Bulletin of the California Department of Education, September 15, 1933.

needed to get better responses from their pupils or at least to be more intelligent in their relations with them. The plan of the schools of Garfield Heights, Cleveland, may be taken as an illustration of actual usage. Each fall all homeroom teachers are expected to visit the homes of their pupils and then file in the school office on a mimeographed form a brief record of each visit. This includes the date, the members of the family seen, attitudes of the parents and any comments which the teacher feels would throw light on the child or his environment. These comments are placed where they are accessible at all times for use by class teachers.

Instead of the school going to the parents in this manner the parents may be brought to the school to observe its work. For many years various types of exhibits have been arranged to which parents have been invited. The advantages and evils of this practice have been given much attention. Chiefly stressed are the disrupting effects the preparation for such occasions may have on the regular program and the fact that the exhibits tended to be only those of the best pupils.

More valuable is the practice, which is spreading especially in connection with the observance of the annual American Education Week, of requesting parents to attend abbreviated class programs. Morrisett advocates that the short actual classroom recitation be preceded by an explanation of what is to be witnessed, its purposes and methods, and followed by an open discussion by the parents. He, like others, urges that the classroom performance be typical in every way of the normal work, of the actual methods and conditions, of the usual conduct of teachers and pupils and of the performance of the various types of pupils.¹

Personality and Behavior Problems. The teacher has much need of understanding what is going on in the modern family because of the effects on pupil personal development and behavior. This was one reason why the institutional status and

¹ Morrisett, L. N., "Interpreting the School to the Public," *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, 7 (April 1933), p. 485.

family functioning and relationships were treated at such length. Among the features of family life which may or may not be injurious to the personality development of children are: friction between parents, improper control of children, immorality, alcoholism or criminality in the home, poverty and destitution, ignorance, cruelty, homes broken by divorce, separation or death, father away from home, mother gainfully employed, father unemployed, parental neglect, misunderstanding of the child, repressive or over-indulgent parents, lack or fewness of brothers and sisters, frequent moving of the home, foreign born parentage. There are, of course, other home conditions involving less unsatisfactory aspects which play their part too in the academic and social adjustments of pupils in schools.

Perhaps the only observable reflections of such home life in the child is in feelings of inferiority or depression, indifference, unhappiness, failure to respond, seeming inability to learn, instability of emotions, erratic school progress or minor violations of good citizenship in the school. On the other hand, there may be rather alarming personality traits and distinct tendencies toward anti-social conduct which result in malicious mischief, destruction of property, defiance of authority, thieving, sex offenses, etc.

Unless the student planning to teach has some previous knowledge of the types of disciplinary cases or "problem children" here referred to he should read a number of case studies. Points to be noted in reading are: the factors leading to the trouble, corrective measures attempted by the regular school authorities if any, final direction of solution.¹

In the less severe maladjustments the understanding engendered by the visit of a teacher to the home may go a long way toward pointing to the needed course of action. Supplementary to a visit to the home a method employed by Mathews

¹ Excellent presentations of cases which will give the comprehension needed are found in Sayles, M. B., *The Problem Child in School*, Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925, or Wile, I. S., *The Challenge of Childhood*, Boni, 1928.

may be found useful in gaining additional understanding of the relationships between parents and children. As a regular assignment in an English class pupils were asked to write answers to the questions: "Would you like your own future home to be like your home now is? Why?" and "What would you think if your mother had a job away from home?" Mathews required no names signed to these compositions, yet the papers were identifiable by their handwriting. Another problem assigned was the devising of lists of advantages and disadvantages which would result if the mother worked regularly away from home. With each type of method the answers were found to be highly informative of home conditions and helpful in pupil counselling.¹

In many instances the regular teachers, with or without much help from the parents, may effect a great improvement in, or a cure of, a difficulty. But with the more pronounced personal kinks or misconduct of "problem children" the unaided efforts of teacher or principal are less valuable or even futile. This should be evident from an examination of case studies, for these show that many factors enter into the development of a typical problem situation and thus no simple method of handling will be likely to succeed. The development usually has taken place over a considerable period of time and time will be required for the cure. Further, the utter futility of mere force or punishment is seen in most of these severe disciplinary cases. The upshot of the matter then is that the regular teachers have neither the time, training nor possibility of using the methods required in handling these cases, and thus the need of specially trained individuals of the visiting teacher type. The visiting teacher having both the training and experience of a social worker and a teacher gives full time to any aspect of pupil management in which contacts with the home would be helpful. The specific duties performed vary somewhat in different places but among those frequently given are the handling

¹ Mathews, S. M., "An Indirect Technique for Studying Home Relationships Preliminary to Pupil Counselling," *Education*, 53 (May 1933), pp. 522-525.

of chronic tardiness, irregular attendance, major disciplinary problems, cases involving scholarship or health problems, excuses or exemptions from school attendance, employment of pupils, visitation of homes and home conditions affecting the development of the pupils.¹ Since the first use of visiting teachers by a city board of education in Rochester in 1913, the value of this service for school-home contacts has been firmly established and many cities have made it an integral part of their organization.

One other factor should be mentioned in a discussion of pupil personality and behavior problems, that is, the personalities of the regular teachers. As was seen in a previous chapter, the young develop human and personal traits through interaction with the personalities of the individuals about them. With pupils spending as much time as they do in intimate relations with teachers, the latter by all means should themselves be personally adjusted and integrated. The point should not need labored defense except that in fact too many teachers are the opposite. Recently in reading over cases of serious disciplinary trouble reported by former students from their secondary school years the writer noted the very large proportion in which lack of emotional control by the teacher directly led to the case getting out of hand.

The employment of married women teachers is debated hotly both pro and con on many grounds having no connection with the subject just discussed. In this case, however, it is sometimes asserted that, since marriage may make possible further opportunities for personal development, married persons have more to contribute to youthful personality. It is at least certain that happily married persons have had to achieve personality adjustments not usually encountered by the single, while the latter may live to some extent under artificial conditions or even under actual emotional tensions. It is equally

¹ Acquaintance with the work and problems of visiting teachers may be had in Ellis, M. B., *The Visiting Teacher in Rochester*, Chaps. II and III, Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925, or in Sayles, M. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 253-280.

true that married women with children have something to contribute to education which the single do not. One of the unfavorable points often made is that teaching by married women results in the neglect of their own homes and family life. Yet some studies of this aspect have shown at least as many children and as well cared for as found in similar homes of other occupations.¹

A greatly increased proportion of men teachers is advocated on much the same grounds. Irrespective of whether hereditary or not there are some differences between males and females in their interests, attitudes and other traits of personality. Under present living conditions many children have lessened contacts with their fathers and few with other adult males and in the schools they come most constantly into touch with women. Not atypical of elementary schools is the situation reported in 1934 for the capital of Connecticut where, of a total of eight hundred classroom teachers of academic subjects, only seven were men. Public secondary schools have always retained a slightly larger proportion of the latter, but factors of salary, uncertainty of tenure, and some of the conditions of teaching have served to keep the number small. Realization of the need of pupils for some association with real men has led to efforts to secure more of them as classroom teachers.

Inadequate Education. In our survey of the present status and functioning of the family there were indicated a number of respects in which change in organization or functioning affects the development of children. In some cases children decreasingly secure certain educational elements at home; in others, changed conditions suggest the desirability of new types of education. In three respects especially have family changes as well as features of the functioning of other institu-

¹ A review of the question is found in "Employment of Married Women as Teachers," *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association*, X (January 1932), pp. 14-21. See also Peters, D. W., *Status of the Married Woman Teacher*, Columbia University Press, 1934.

tions resulted in inadequacy in the educational preparation of the younger generation, namely, in character formation, vocational fitness and in preparation for family and home life.

Before examining each of these, mention should be made of manual education. As, increasingly, families move into crowded quarters in cities, more children are deprived in their homes of opportunities of self-expression, the development of creativity and of skill through working with metal, wood or leather. On the contrary, life on a farm provides the constant necessities which mother the invention of adaptations of materials to suit daily needs. In still other homes, through destitute circumstances, or perhaps lack of home ownership, opportunities are nil or limited. It is in the light of this situation that provision of manual training for pupils is strongly urged as a means of remedy. However, the school offering goes considerably beyond what was originally obtainable in homes. Purposes of giving it also have changed. It no longer is conceived of, as in the early stages prior to 1900, as primarily of disciplinary value in the elementary school and as a trade training in the secondary, but as valuable in training and developing skills and creative powers and affording satisfying expressions of interests and desires in material forms.

There is no more serious problem at present than adequate vocational education. As seen, changes in institutional life including urbanization, industrialization and in the nature of the family as an economic unit have made inadequate the traditional means of preparation for vocational life. Even girls are decreasingly being prepared through home living for successful direction of families of their own. Then too there is the problem of the increasing number of women, single or married, who wish to qualify for gainful employment. Obviously the school, by our criteria, should assume some responsibility in this situation. Yet, since the matter is as much an affair of economic institutions as it is of the family, consideration, except for homemaking, will be deferred.

The perplexities of many parents in regard to proper ethical

standards and changes in family religious practices, as well as the prevalent juvenile delinquency, were said to raise doubts about the adequacy of the home in character education. On their sides the school and the church have considered themselves important agencies for character formation, but again there may be question of effectiveness. Since religious institutions are to be treated in a later chapter it may be well to wait for data from that source before attacking this problem.

More Effective Family Life. The third educational inadequacy in present institutional functioning is the lack of provision of preparation for family and home life. At the same time successful family life is being rendered more difficult to achieve by some of the changes which were observed to be taking place, such as the increasing emphasis on companionship with the consequent greater demands for adjustment of personalities, franker recognition of unsatisfactory features when existent, greater freedom for the individual—especially married women—, the widening gap between the generations, economic pressure on the family, etc. An educational program which attempts to meet this situation will go considerably beyond the mere provision of elements which once were secured through actual growing-up in homes but are no longer thus secured. Many things which would be beneficial were never learned in the home or in any other institution. The first problem then is to outline what would seem to be more adequate education for family and home life, the second, to indicate where experience is beginning to show it may be given and how.

The broad purpose would be to give an intelligent realization of the problems of home and family life today, to lead to an appreciation of the services performed, to afford the required preparation for making the home better through the student's part in his present and his future home and through stimulating him to life-long interest and effort in working out solutions to the problems to be met before the family institution can be made better in the future.

For the fulfillment of these purposes there are necessary certain attitudes, knowledges and skills. The desirable attitudes are those which may loosely be called a modern philosophy of the family and grow out of a generally equalitarian view of family relationships. The latter implies attitudes favorable to partnership by husband and wife rather than dictation on the part of one, to mutual agreement as to the fields in which each shall have the weightier decisions, to control of children more by appeal to internal authority and intelligent affection rather than by physical force, etc. The student should think of other aspects of the modern philosophy which is part of the evolving family patterns.

Precisely because it leads to the growth of such attitudes when handled rightly as well as because of some of the knowledge involved, an adequate program should include study of the historical development of the family which would be pertinent to present day attitudes and understanding of its functioning. The rather wide range of knowledges, understandings and skills desirable may be summarized by saying that there should be study of the present psychological, biological, economic and sociological factors in marriage and family life. This would entail consideration of such topics as, the give-and-take (adjustments) essential to successful living with other people, bases for choosing friends, bases for choosing a mate, relations within the family, child care and training, the biology of heredity and sexual reproduction, health and nutrition, preparation of food, sewing, training for the consumer, household finance, social conditions of family life, etc.

There is far from complete agreement as to the exact content of homemaking education or as to its placement in the curriculum. The conditions which have made evident its desirability are relatively recent. The first high school provision of sewing, cooking, dressmaking and millinery was in Toledo in 1886. Since that time the emphasis in domestic science has changed largely from production to consumption and thus a wide range of new topics such as those listed above have been incorporated,

and new courses of general interest to all students, boys as well as girls, have been established mostly as electives. The result is that much of what was outlined as desirable is being given or can be given today by domestic science teachers.

For example, the Supervisor of Home Economics in the schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, suggests the following as a desirable curriculum in the field:

Courses of general importance to both boys and girls such as foods, nutrition, home engineering or home mechanics, human relationships, child care and training, and economics of the household; courses especially designed for girls such as, clothing construction, art in every day living, home planning and furnishing, and housekeeping; special courses for retarded children; and those leading to the vocations.¹

A further example will serve to bring out contrasts and suggest the details of a curriculum. In the schools of Shaker Heights, Cleveland, courses bearing the name of "home art" are offered in the department of art for girls beginning with the seventh grade and running through the twelfth. In the seventh grade are two one-semester required courses dealing with "clothing and related subjects": personal appearance, garments suitable for a school girl, construction of simple garments, selection of ready-to-wear clothes, desirable home and community life, the girl's share in homemaking, etc. Two similar units in the eighth grade present the planning of breakfasts and luncheons, nutrition values and costs, balanced diets, cafeteria selections, etc. In the ninth grade there are two electives, one dealing further with costume and clothes, home design and decoration, personal relationships and vocations open to women; the other with planning dinners, home management, marketing, budgeting, child care and training, family relationships and character study. The tenth grade unit concerns "the responsibility of a high school girl for her own optimum development" in health, personal appearance, choice of leisure time activities, intel-

¹ Craig, A. H., *A Symposium on the New Homemaking Education*, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 3, 1933, p. 45.

ligent use of money, social adaptability and cooperation. The "girl's relation to her present and future home" in regard to home furnishing, housing, clothing selection, the family budget and personality problems of group living are considered in the eleventh grade. The final year is given to a survey of the "problems of women in the world today" along vocational, homemaking and civic-social lines.¹

Despite the controversy over school sex instruction in many communities the work bids fair to becoming much more effective than the hit-or-miss information otherwise obtained. One of the most satisfactory arrangements is in connection with the biology course. How this may be undertaken may be illustrated by the plan used for some years in the Bronxville, New York, public schools, where sex instruction is a part of the elementary course in biology for the seventh grade. The course alternates with physical education and thus the boys and girls are segregated already for class instruction. Classes continue for eighteen to twenty-six weeks and meet five times a week for forty-five minute periods. The material studied covers a survey of living things from the simplest to the more complex organisms including man, and involving all the essential life functions such as growing, eating, breathing, reproducing, etc. Beginning with a study of the earth as man's home, progress is next made to the plant kingdom. The simpler animals are then studied. Reproduction is again seen as only one of the life functions. Its study advances from asexual forms where no sperms or eggs are present, through the presence of sperms and eggs in the same animal, and hence no male and female, to the separation of sperms and eggs and the appearance of males and females as separate sexes. This it is shown logically calls for pairing in fertilization. It will be noted that prior to the discussion of man, reproductive functions and the

¹ From the published *Course of Study—All Subjects—Grades 1-12, Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio, 1933-34*. An excellent source of actual curricular material now in use is found in the report of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Education for Home and Family Life, I, In Elementary and Secondary Schools*, Century, 1932.

terms connected with them are freely discussed by their scientific names and carry no emotional significance. Now man and his complicated body machinery are discussed as that of the highest of the vertebrates.

Because of the approach during the course from simple to more complicated forms, it is easily explained that man, standing at the top of the animal kingdom, is the sole animal with reasoning ability. This gives him the power to study his own reactions and develop methods of conduct that will be beneficial to him and to his children. The social significance of the family and the ethical values of self-control in sexual matters develop naturally out of these discussions. At the beginning of the course a conference is held to which all parents of seventh grade children are invited. The high school principal or the instructor in elementary biology discusses the coming course in detail so that each parent may be fully informed as to what is coming.

Through the cooperation of still other departments, elements of homemaking education can be given, even in schools where there are no home economics teachers. In general science food values and nutrition can make its contribution, in a commercial, or even a mathematics course problems of personal and home budgeting may be treated, in art a most profitable field of exploration is that of art in the home, while the economics of consumption may well have some place in the economics course. In Detroit a course in economics for the consumer has been developed, which the state department of education permits to be substituted for the general course in economics required of all pupils for high school graduation in Michigan.

Oftentimes elements of the program are cared for through the means of extra-curricular clubs which have proven most successful in small schools and large alike. In Atlantic City, the department of household arts sponsors clubs in home economics work for seventh and eighth grade boys and girls, with cooking clubs for boys proving especially popular. Affiliated with the American Home Economics Association are some

1,024 school home economics clubs, 194 of them in colleges and 830 in high schools. Out of considerable experience with 4-H Clubs in rural communities, Foster believes that a part of their program might significantly contribute to preparation for marriage and family life if under intelligent and informed leadership. The following topics are listed as suggestive of those in which club members are interested and which might be studied by clubs: the family as a social institution, relations within the family, marriage and preparation for it, standards of relationship between men and women and boys and girls, interference of parents with the choice of friends, effect of economic insecurity upon the family and sex problems.¹

This survey of the relations of school and family shows a rather substantial beginning of cooperative planning. Much remains to be done and adaptations must be worked out in individual communities, yet this will come as teachers awake to their responsibilities. Herbert Spencer's taunt that future archeologists upon investigating the remains of the schools of his day would conclude they were institutions where only celibates were instructed is even now being disproved.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Look up the provisions of "The Children's Charter." Think of five families of your acquaintance drawn from different socio-economic groups and consider the extent to which the provisions of the Charter are observed in these families.
2. Carefully prepare an answer to the question, what attitudes and knowledges should a person have before marriage to ensure better success of the subsequent union?
3. The program of studies bulletin for high school social science of the New Hampshire State Board of Education included in 1929 an outline for a one-semester course in Sociology. The eighth unit of this course on which eight periods were to be allocated was entitled: "What is the fundamental importance of the family?" The bulletin describes the unit as follows:

¹ Foster, R. G., "Education for Marriage and Family Life in the 4-H Club Program," *Journal of Home Economics*, 26 (June-July 1934), p. 339.

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Objectives for this unit are to have the pupils realize the significance of the long period of infancy; to have them appreciate the value to our civilization of the monogamous family; to appreciate the evils arising from the broken family; and to understand what intelligent means are employed to prevent disruption of families.

Long period of infancy.

Social influence of the family.

The broken family—causes, extent, remedies.

How satisfactory does this unit seem in content and approach? State what you think should be the objectives in the treatment of the family and give the topics to be included, keeping in mind the limitation of the unit to eight periods. Compile an adequate list of references, basic and supplementary, to be used by pupils.

4. Learn the facts regarding the function of the parent-teacher association in your home community. Describe the various aspects of the activities in which it engages and evaluate its success in achieving its various purposes.

5. Does any city or town with which you are acquainted have a definite plan of home visitation by teachers? Secure details of its operation and evaluate.

6. What bearing may the "single salary schedule" have upon the problem of securing more desirable men as classroom teachers?

7. The mother of David R., feeling that his fifth grade teacher discriminated against him in the exercise of discipline, encouraged the child to talk back when corrected or reproved. The teacher was a woman of long experience and never had tolerated this in pupils. She, therefore, countered each reply by David on these occasions with some form of punishment. This continued throughout the year. Learn from some teacher of your acquaintance what means he employs with pupils who "talk back." Try to secure his real estimate as to the effectiveness of the measures. Outline what you consider the most appropriate procedure for handling the situation described above.

8. The parent-teacher association of a large city in Arkansas in 1925 sent to the board of education the following resolution:

We respectfully request that you regulate the question of dress in our Public Schools—in order that—

1. Health may be promoted.
2. Modesty inculcated.
3. Expense to parents reduced.
4. Scholarship rather than fashion emphasized.
5. A democratic spirit fostered, thus avoiding distinctions due to dress.

We suggest the following regulations:

1. No rouge or lipstick.
2. A simple arrangement of the hair recommended.
3. No French heels, satin or dress slippers.
4. No silk hose.
5. No bare knees among Senior High School pupils.
6. Middies or plain waists, worn with woolen or cotton skirts, or simple woolen, cotton or linen dresses.

These standards of healthfulness, suitability and simplicity must be observed, or the girl will be sent home.

These regulations are to be enforced by the teachers.

List the lines of activity in which parent-teacher associations may be most effective. Does the sponsorship of resolutions of the type quoted above fall within their province? Consult a teacher and a parent for their views on the latter question.

9. A county board of education in a mountainous section of Virginia took action which it reported to the county newspaper for publication in the following form:

The county school board at its meeting Friday passed a resolution prohibiting parents, guardians or others from entering upon school properties to discuss with teachers any matters pertaining to pupils' study, discipline or conduct. Parents and patrons will in the future have to discuss such matters with teachers somewhere else. The action was made necessary because in a number of instances schools have been interrupted during school hours by persons entering the rooms to talk with teachers.

Can you suggest any other course of action which would have been preferable in meeting the situation? What are the basic causes behind the frequent conflicts between teachers and parents?

SELECTED READINGS

Anderson, V. V. *Psychiatry in Education*, Harper and Brothers, 1932, Chap. 6.

Desirable personality qualifications to insure adjusted and well-integrated teachers are indicated from the psychiatric point of view.

Cubberley, E. P. *The Principal and His School*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923, Chap. XXVII.

An excellent chapter on programs and activities for parent-teacher associations of great practical value.

Folsom, J. K. *The Family: Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry*, John Wiley and Sons, 1934, Part V.

Most helpful toward understanding relationships between family disorganization and personality and the problems of parent-child association.

Goodsell, Willystine. *A History of Marriage and the Family*, Revised Edition, The Macmillan Co., 1934, Chaps. VIII, IX, XI, XII.

An excellent source of data for outlining the most important roots and factors in the development of the American family.

Hart, Hornell and E. B. *Personality and the Family*, D. C. Heath and Co., 1935.

Many of the chapters of this book can be read with personal advantage as they deal with questions on which students seek information, as the role of sex in marriage, finding a suitable mate, etc.

Lindquist, R. *The Family in the Present Social Order*, University of North Carolina Press, 1931, Chap. VI.

Reports lists of topics on which married women feel that further personal study would have been desirable.

Mowrer, E. R. *The Family, Its Organization and Disorganization*, University of Chicago Press, 1932.

Can be used as a survey of the family but particularly suggestive on the development of personality through the roles of members and the reactions of children to family disorganization.

Mowrer, H. R. *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord*, American Book Co., 1935.

An analysis of the problems of adjustment of personalities, one of the increasingly critical factors in successful marriage.

Muller-Lyer, F. *The Family*, Allen and Unwin, 1931, Chap. XI.

Traces the development of family patterns of the twentieth century.

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Nimkoff, M. M. *The Family*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934, Chap. V.

May be used as a supplementary comprehensive survey of the modern American family.

A Symposium on the New Homemaking Education, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 3, 1933.

Contains a number of papers giving points of view and practices in this field.

White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Adolescent in the Family*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934, Part II.

A discussion of the factors in the family background which affect the development of personality of children.

White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Education for Home and Family Life*, Century Co., 1932, Vol. I, *In Elementary and Secondary Schools*.

An excellent source of data on the best current organization and procedures in homemaking education.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION AND RECREATIONAL LIFE

Ten billion dollars and over is the annual payment made by the American people in the search for amusement. Yet this sum, including as it does the major expenditures, leaves out of account outlays such as admissions to symphony concerts, governmental expenditures for recreation in cities under 30,000, home and informal entertaining, dues of clubs under \$25, gambling and betting, and other miscellaneous expenditures which would increase the total.¹ Over ten miles a day traversed in the course of their unending play activities is the record hung up by three-year-olds according to statistically minded observers who employed pedometers with these infants. But the love of movement is no monopoly of youth for we reflect that there is one private automobile to every four and one-half persons and that in 1930 the per capita passenger mileage in these cars was over 2,500 miles. Americans are celebrated for their recreational proclivities as "joiners." The numerous clubs and groups formed by adolescents which are of perennial interest to psychologists and sociologists are only equaled by the societies, clubs, associations and orders to which their elders belong. Recently it was estimated that there were eight hundred secret orders alone, with a membership of half of the adult population. The chronicler of this page of recreational life suggests that to know America one ought to know at least one password.² Again the cynical thrust that there is nothing which students willingly pay more for but are satisfied with less of than the education offered by colleges, fails to take note of the movies these same students

¹ Steiner, J. F., "Recreation and Leisure Time Activities," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 948.

² Merz, Charles, *The Great American Band Wagon*, Literary Guild, 1928, p. 24.

throng to attend. For they along with upwards of a hundred million other persons weekly flock to these palaces of pleasure for a few transient thrills and heart throbs for which they part with around a billion and a half within a year's time.

Wherein is to be found the explanation of this nation-wide quest for recreation? What is there in the human being or his environment which impels him to vast expenditures of energy and money in his leisure hours?

ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PLAY

The sources of these activities in original nature have been a matter of scientific debate for fifty years with much of it still no farther advanced than the stage of description.

Perhaps the earliest view to gain wide-spread attention was the so-called surplus energy theory advanced by Herbert Spencer with the publication of his *Principles of Psychology* in 1885. Probably using the concept of the play impulse expressed by the poet Schiller in rather vague form, Spencer worked out a careful explanation based on the structure and functioning of the body. Man is a highly differentiated organism with many different parts adapted to a variety of activities. Because of the great efficiency of these specialized mechanisms only part of his powers are engaged at any one time and these activities do not consume all the energy supplied by the nutrient taken into the system. Thus many of his powers remain inactive but well supplied with energy for considerable periods of time. There accumulates then a surplus of energy in the nerve centers controlling the inactive mechanisms and sooner or later they reach such a state of "instability" or "excessive readiness to decompose and discharge" that activity ensues. This is called play since it involves the exercise of powers and faculties not used in providing for the immediate needs. Stripped of anatomical terms the view may be taken to refer to the fact that children and adults in good health, well nourished and rested, tend to glory in activity while those in the opposite physical states barely manage to drag through their necessary

routine. While there is an indubitable element of truth in this, even sick children play and well ones frequently exert themselves to the point of fatigue not simply until surplus energy is discharged. Again, though the play activities be considered superfluous and useless in themselves, they may serve the purpose of permitting the other organs to rest.

The next explanations were based in one way or another on instinct. The theory proposed by Groos in 1899 elaborated an instinct for play which caused the child to exercise the other developing instincts which, though still imperfect and partially formed, would be vital in the activities of adult years. The same forms of activities which are engaged in as play in youth are the ones required for successful survival when parental care is withdrawn. Although Groos later abandoned belief in a particular play instinct, he continued to adhere to the idea of an hereditary impulse which caused the young to practice the forms of activity that they would need later and hence this is called the practice theory. Now study does not reveal this kind of hereditary correspondence between the activities of youth and maturity, nor any very close correspondence in the first place. Yet in the general sense that through play the child develops the various action systems of the body, but not through specific forms of activity, there is truth in the view that play helps prepare for the future.

It was only natural from this modified view of the preparatory function of play in general that there be belief in an hereditary impulse or instinct to provide the impulsion, especially since this was the period when almost any form of behavior was ascribed to an instinctive source. This view was successfully modified by men like Thorndike who, in 1908, argued the non-existence of a simple hereditary tendency and, instead, held to a number of original tendencies which in some of their manifestations led to playful activity. He listed manipulation, vocalization, facial expression, multiform mental and physical activity, and certain expressions of the hunting, fighting and petting tendencies. The particular forms play took were re-

garded as results of environmental influences. This still falls short of explaining much about the real origin and nature of play and as a theory it has all the weaknesses of the instinct psychology.

Yet another theory depending upon instinct was propounded by G. Stanley Hall in 1904. According to it each child in his development from birth to maturity recapitulates and passes through the stages through which ancestral man passed in the upward course of civilization. Modern children then tend instinctively in their play to rehearse the various activities which once were the essential means of livelihood of ancient men. After attacking the practice theory, Hall says, "In place of this mistaken and misleading view, I regard play as the motor habits and spirit of the past of the race, persisting in the present, as rudimentary functions sometimes of and always akin to rudimentary organs."¹ Needless to say, such a view depending as it does upon the inheritance of acquired practices of ancient men for their origin has no standing and it suffers from the other criticisms of the recapitulation theory.

A rather recent study of these and other attempts to explain the origin of play concludes that no existing theory is satisfactory in itself and that a synthesis of valid points is necessary.² There will be nothing spectacular about the claims of such a synthesis as to the origin and function of play. It would suggest that in children there is both much random and purposeful activity as outcomes of healthy growth processes. Since from the adult standpoint it is not directed toward goals considered essential, it is called play. Actually many learned acts and accomplishments are developed through play activities and so it is highly useful for child growth. Activity may arise merely because the individual is highly sensitive and the environment provides a multitude of stimuli, or because of an overabundance of energy, or, possibly, have at base some hereditary

¹ Hall, G. S., *Youth*, Appleton, 1923, p. 74.

² Lehman, H. C. and Witty, P. A., *The Psychology of Play Activities*, Barnes, 1927.

tendency or other. The forms of childish play depend in part upon the stage of maturation of the body structures and in part upon environmental factors. In the adult there may be surplus energy in unexercised parts of the body and a craving for the activity which does maintain a healthy status, or social stimulation and habits may be the dominant factors. The function of play at this level is the continued development of some powers and the re-creation of those lowered in efficiency through the strain of work, the pressures of our circumscribed living, or through lack of exercise.

Nature of Play and Recreational Activities. On first thought it may seem somewhat unnecessary to raise at this point a question as to the genuine characteristics of play, of those activities which are recreational. An understanding of what is meant has thus far been assumed and we do commonly assume that all think alike in identifying play activities. But let us see. Is the true character to be found in the nature of the activity itself? For example, is baseball play, whereas the determination of the relative ages of two strata of the earth's crust or teaching a geometry class is not? If it be conceded that some geologists and teachers would find more recreation in their problems than by playing baseball, may it be said that the attitude of the individual is the fundamental criterion? The reader may recall the little volume in which John Dewey maintains that there is no necessary opposition between interest and effortful work. Thus if an individual feels more enthusiasm and joy in selling automobiles than in doing anything else is this not recreation to him regardless of the attitudes others may have for this line of work? But it may be objected, whether he enjoys it or not, the results are the same; he earns the money necessary for a livelihood and therefore, only those activities not productive of economic utilities should be regarded as recreational. Still others insist that the conditions surrounding the undertaking determine whether the activity is play or not. If there is freedom to stop whenever one wishes then a true

characteristic of play is present, otherwise not. Which of these four points of view contain valid suggestions of the genuine characteristics of the recreational? What seemed self-evident is after all something requiring elucidation and likely only arbitrary definitions can pave the way for agreement.

One proposed by Snedden is favorable to distinguishing between play and work on these grounds. In work the motivation is derived from some external source, such as the desire to escape punishment, avoid poverty, prove superiority to others or acquire wealth. Work ordinarily results in economic utilities immediately useful or good for exchange and is done under a greater or lesser degree of compulsion which holds the worker to the task long after interest in it may vanish. On the contrary, in play the motivation derives from the natural interest in the activity itself or its immediate outcome; it is unproductive of economic utilities; is largely free from compulsion and can be terminated at will.¹ Such a pragmatic definition fits the actual life situation generally, but the implication that work and play are two mutually exclusive categories and never shall the twain meet is unjustifiable. Fortunately even now for some people work does have characteristics of play activities and this should be increasingly true for the good of men. Happier and healthier lives result when people find spontaneous and compelling interests in what they do. A new emphasis in our economic system upon the worker as a person, as something more than a mere means of production, might go far toward modifying Snedden's definition. For the present, however, and for most people, work and recreation must be supplementary, and the greater the specialization in industrial production the greater the need of recreational opportunities.

The foregoing discussion would suggest that one of the dominant characteristics of play and recreational activity is the spontaneous interest of the participant. Because of this inherent interest in the activity for the individual it is genuinely satisfying. Moreover, instead of being something superficial,

¹ Snedden, D., *Educational Sociology*, Century, 1933, p. 319.

even frivolously light or altogether baneful, recreation is one of the serious activities of life playing its part in development and maintenance of well-being and making its demands upon energy too. Instead of something to be indulged in merely in the idle hours of youth, it is something both suitable and necessary for maturity as well. The old idea that adults had no capacity for and derived little satisfaction from play was merely a commentary upon the then contemporary definition of play. It is true that adults, because of the force of new situations and conventions, because of the acquisition of new habits and interests and the diminution of physical vitality may indulge in recreation of the childish forms very little. But fathers still take their little boys to the circus, and the writer recalls no more hilarious occasion than when some Rotarians wired the banquet seats of their fellows and secured prompt responses to an urgent but fictitious appeal for a rising donation of a thousand dollars for a worthy cause.

As far as the individual is concerned then, those activities are recreational which give him genuine satisfaction through the channels they provide for the expression of his interests. If this condition is met, in most cases the instrumental values to development and recuperation will be taken care of also. On the other hand, if interest in the activity for its own sake be not the dominant motive for participation then there is inadequate release for the nervous tensions of our restricted and coerced mode of living.¹ There is a further interesting implication of this condition. Among those activities which do provide genuine satisfaction are there any differences in recreational value? For example, for a ten-year-old are the recreational values of swinging, playing dominoes, playing hockey or store all equal? If not, can their relative values be determined and upon what bases? Are there any differences for a junior in college in relative values of such activities as witnessing a boxing match, playing tennis or attendance at a Gilbert and

¹ Lundberg, G. A., "Training for Leisure," *Teachers College Record*, 34 (April 1933), p. 574.

Sullivan opera? Would not a defensible criterion be found in the principle that those providing the most satisfactions now and which have the capacity for increasing the range and variety of interests of the participant for future satisfactions are the more valuable? Thus the inherent interests in the activity, its "leading on" possibilities and the present stage of development of the participant are all involved in any determination of relative values. The inherent interests in boxing are intense but limited in range, its "leading on" possibilities are restricted to the satisfaction of these very same interests no matter how many matches are witnessed; but, despite this, at a given stage of development an individual may enjoy this recreation more than playing tennis. The latter, however, is of such a nature as to call for the development of new powers in the individual the longer he participates and thus provides increasing satisfaction through the years. The student might ponder the use of this principle in evaluating the extra-curricular activities sponsored by public schools.

While the major emphasis has been rightly placed on the worthwhileness of recreational activities in themselves as stimulants and satisfiers of human interests, much could be said of other values. Their physiological significance in the promotion of physical development and as aids in the acquisition of skills, etc., has already been mentioned. Psychologically they are of value in the promotion of mental health, in relieving the ennui of monotonous work and thus dispelling feelings of fatigue. Because of the high degree of interest involved in play, the participant tends to be freed from his usual inhibitions and learning takes place much more rapidly. This fact, besides being suggestive for the technique of teachers, suggests that the leisure occupations of an individual have great weight in molding his development. Sociologically the play activities provide a needed escape from the tendency toward regimentation which is a prominent characteristic of many social institutions. Since this release often operates more effectively in crowd play situations, recreation becomes important as an

agency for building group consciousness. Although social groups may find their reason for existence in some central activity remote from play, the inclusion of some recreational activities keeps the group life just as that of "Jack" from being dull. Finally, it is to be recalled that the child's play group is most likely to be a primary institution in its influence in socializing his personality.

FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN RECREATIONAL LIFE

We embarked upon our national life without great store of recreational lore or tradition—contrary to what might be expected of a people who, by 1763, were one-third of English birth or descent with its rich Elizabethan play heritage. Scotch-Irish and German peoples made up almost another third and, like the English, were for the most part middle class or laborers with a sturdy community folk-life as their background. But the immigration of scattered individuals and families rather than whole communities was not conducive to transplanting the former recreational life in the new world and the rigorous demands for survival made the revival of the old ways a matter of years or militated against it altogether. Then too, many of these colonial settlers embraced a religious interpretation which distrusted pleasure and regarded play as either a shameful waste of time or actually wanton. Many of the customary diversions had already been renounced by them in their European homes so that still further reaction was to be expected in the new world where they could control their own social order. Nevertheless, some outlet for the emotions was provided in connection with the activities of corn-husking, quilting, church meetings or in the very dangers of pioneer existence.

As prosperity, greater security and some leisure came to the inhabitants of the coastal region, there were revived some of the English pastimes like cock-fighting, horse racing, fox hunting, chasing the greased pig, flower gardening, hunting and fishing

for sport. Friends of William Penn who constituted a rising aristocracy founded in 1732 the Schuylkill Fishing Company, members of which still ply their skill in the environs of Philadelphia. Thriving planters of South Carolina who enjoyed good fellowship founded in 1740 the Winyaw Indigo Society. Farther inland, in the Blue Grass, the rigors of pioneer life having lessened slightly, there was organized around the turn of the century the Bourbon County Angling Club, whose president, according to Dr. Henshall, invented the first multiplying reel in 1810. While the home arts, such as painting and music, were largely lacking, there was some wood carving and cabinet making. Professional painters and musicians by the middle of the eighteenth century were beginning to supply the deficiency, as is shown by the art exhibitions in cities and the organization of musical groups like the Orpheus Club in Philadelphia in 1759. The dramatic arts found popular acceptance increasingly after the arrival of the Hallams in 1750. The scarcity of books for reading was partially offset by the rapid appearance of newspapers in various colonies following the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704. The more polite diversions or vices are even attributed by Bishop Meade to the Episcopal clergy, for he says in *Old Churches and Families in Virginia*, "many of them had been addicted to the race-field, the card table, the ball-room, the theater—nay, more, to the drunken revel."

"By 1763," says James Truslow Adams, "there was thus in the colonies a well-established cultural life conforming to the eighteenth-century English pattern."¹ But limited as were these cultural and recreational opportunities of the colonial period, even these were largely denied many hundreds of thousands of the population who were below the aristocratic class, were living on the frontier, or whose religious views frowned upon pleasure. As for ordinary school boys and girls two of the rules of a Kentucky reading school in 1800 are suggestive of the time: "Diversion at Play-Time are, Running, Jumping, Prison-base, but wrestling, Climbing and such as endanger the

¹ Adams, J. T., *The March of Democracy*, Scribner's, 1932, Vol. I, p. 73.

Clothing or Limbs will not be admitted. . . . The girls are to exercise innocent diversion to themselves."¹

Thus we began our independent national life with a strong religious bias against recreation, a rather meager start toward the development of this side of life in spite of the passage of over a century and a half, and a vast continent beckoning with opportunities for adventure and profitable work. The upper-class graces and diversions of the Cavalier were to become decreasingly important in the national life and increasingly men of the austere Puritan mentality and practical virtues or the equally earnest and industrious middle and lower classes of each section were to set the standards. During much of the nineteenth century our people lived either under frontier conditions, on scattered farms or in villages and small towns. Under such circumstances there was little time for the cultivation of leisure and even survival itself required providence and hard work. But more important, perhaps, was the fact that coupled with great natural endowments was a social system which not only made possible but sanctioned rather free competition. Those limitations on individual initiative and the rise of the lower classes which had begun to operate before the Revolution were once more brushed aside. An open frontier now made it possible for almost anyone with sufficient stamina and industry to improve his fortunes, and personal worth came to be judged in terms of such industry. Thus there was constant stimulation of the work motive and little thought of recreation except as something for the somewhat rare moments of leisure.

Where villages came into existence, although the people bore the marks of their previous isolation or meager lives, some of the colonial pastimes were revived and husking-bees, spelling matches, picnics, horse racing, the singing of Christmas carols, community plays, singing schools, skating and lyceum lectures afforded diversion for young and old. Later in the cen-

¹ Adams, J. E. and Taylor, W. S., *An Introduction to Education and the Teaching Process*, Macmillan, 1932, p. 99.

tury summer resorts began to do a thriving trade, rowing and baseball made their appearance in the realm of sport, and despite religious inhibitions barn dances and folk dances enlivened the social scene. Interesting allusions to recreation appear in some of the tart comments made by the Superintendent of Schools of the rural Vermont township of Hartford in his report for the year 1862. For example, "We must not expect great improvement in our schools until we are willing to go as far to witness the progress of our children's culture as to see our horses trot." The teacher in one school had as her greatest problem the "irregular attendance" and "diminished attention to study" of pupils "consequent upon their attendance of a dancing school several miles away." Of still another school in the principal village of the township, White River Junction, the irate superintendent remarks: "Amusements and excitements turn the thoughts away from books. 'Young America' thrives." Following recovery after the Civil War a widening range of recreation is found, extending from fairs and circuses to an increasing number of sports like cycling, roller skating, croquet and rifle shoots.

There came the rapid industrialization of America and the gathering of people into cities where their former recreations were either impossible or no longer satisfying. Even those who hitherto had not indulged but had lived a more or less outdoor life, now found work in factories, shops and offices so confining as to call for some relaxing activity. Thus the passage from the agrarian economy tended to the disintegration or disorganization of much of the all too scanty recreational life which the newness of the country and its conditions of work had suffered to develop. During this era there had come to our shores many hundreds of thousands of immigrants who might have at least preserved their own cultural traditions and been the richer for it. But without being able to offer them as much, we have attempted frequently through a rather jingoistic form of Americanization to induce them to give up all this—an attitude which is one of the products of the "melting pot" idea. Out

of such situations came ever increasing demands for recreational opportunities and rather tawdry efforts to meet this need at first. Commercialized play was quick to capitalize the possibilities.

THE PRESENT RECREATIONAL SITUATION

Recreation Conscious. Those living during the present century are the first in the history of our country to witness wider acceptance of the view that recreation is a legitimate and desirable aspect of life. The Puritan attitude is less to the fore although communities and regions differ in this respect, with the cities perhaps showing fewest traces. The "leisure class" has expanded far beyond the favored few, and there now comes from the rank and file a demand for the right to play, which right is increasingly being conceded as only their just due. So much so is this now the attitude that apart from an insight from our not too distant past, many of the younger generations do not realize its recency.

Yet in the new attitude there is a reservation which is doubtless in part a survival from our hurly burly pioneer life with its enthronement of physical activity. The dreamer of dreams who could not translate those dreams into action had scant place on the frontier and he whose story was listened to most attentively was one who recounted the exploits of an active life. For the pastimes of intellect and culture there were few facilities and less time and inclination. And the "virile American" today is somewhat distrustful of what is beyond the pale of active amusements and sports, except perhaps for the radio.

In part, this preference for the more thrilling and physical types of recreation is a reaction from modern conditions of work with their deadly routine and monotony. The drabness of many of its occupations is well known. The equal drabness of the routine of farm life, despite some offsetting features, is not as well appreciated by the urban population. Modern industry with its emphasis upon efficiency of production has specialized man and machinery to the point where the worker

craves "high powered," relaxing amusements to bring forgetfulness and release from strain. Finally, only through work and the accumulation of some small reserve has the worker ever been able to hope for more time to enjoy life or have any security in old age. These facts along with the entrenched belief that the real measure of a man is found in his success in work still tend to make work the dominant interest in this country and permits especially the less favored economic classes relatively brief leisure hours, a situation which leads to the highly emotional and more elemental physical recreations.

Threat of Leisure? Whether or not there is a threat in leisure depends upon how much of such time there is and how it is spent. It must be conceded that the mass of the population, not suffering from cyclical unemployment or under-regulations such as the N.R.A., has not been burdened with too much leisure. Of more significance, however, is the fact that the work week has been shortening gradually for some years. No perfect measure of the trend is to be had, but a number of studies make it evident that reduction is taking place. For the country as a whole, Douglas estimates that between 1890 and 1926 there was a reduction of 15 per cent in hours of labor.¹ In industry over the same period a decrease in the normal work week of approximately 20 hours is the estimate of other students.² Lies quotes the United States Bureau of Labor as reporting that between 1907 and 1924 there was an average increase of leisure of approximately four hours per week. He also cites a statement of President Green of the American Federation of Labor that a Massachusetts shoemaker had a 72 hour week in 1855, a week of 60 hours in 1895, and that by

¹ Douglas, P. H., *Real Wages in the United States, 1890-1926*, Houghton Mifflin, 1930, p. 209.

² Wolman, Leo and Peck, G., "Labor Groups in the Social Structure," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 828-829. Between 1890 and 1928 the percentages of decrease ran as high as 29 for blast furnaces, 26.7 for bakeries, 21.5 for job and book printing and 19.6 in the marble and stone industry. Yet the standard work week in blast furnaces in 1928 was still 60 hours while in the building industry it was only 43.5.

1928 cutters, lasters and stitchers were working only 48 hours per week. On the other hand, Massachusetts cotton mill weavers who had a work week of 66 hours in 1870, worked only 48 in 1924.¹

Some of the same factors which have effected these reductions and are in continued operation give assurance of still more leisure in the future. They are: mechanization of production, invention and wider use of labor saving machinery, increased productivity of labor, the demands of organized labor for shorter hours, belief in a better life for workers, and, incongruously, a reason wholly foreign to the spirit of recreation and a better life, but quite in keeping with the dominant culture pattern which esteems productive work as the *summum bonum* of life. This reason for the encouragement of more leisure hours is that such leisure would bring greater consumption of goods and services and this in turn would help create new needs and broader markets, which in turn would make possible still greater man-hours of productivity and thus even more leisure, and so merrily around the economic circle. On the basis of the present inept or unwise use of leisure time there are grounds for thinking that the substantial increase probable in the future might be more bane than blessing unless society prepares individuals for it.

The fact that so many of us now are unable to find satisfying activities for our spare time is another one of the reasons for the swollen profits of commercialized recreation. When thrown on their own resources even those from whom much might be expected often prove themselves recreationally bankrupt. The student might make a count the next time he rides a train to determine how his fellow passengers are spending their time. Perhaps his results might be similar to those of Bruce Barton who recounts that on one occasion he found his 32 fellow-passengers in the pullman of an express engaged as follows: thirteen asleep, two at work, six looking ahead with bored

¹ Lies, E. T., *The New Leisure Challenges the Schools*, National Recreation Association, 1933, p. 22.

expressions, five reading fiction, one reading a book on science, two working with cross-word puzzles, one playing solitaire, two applying lipstick. Social workers are telling us that "satan still finds mischief for idle hands" and that an ounce of preventive recreation might avoid the outlay of pounds for cure.

Commercialized Recreation. One of the outstanding recreational trends of the day is the wide-spread growth of all forms of commercialized amusement and especially of the passive spectator type. Had there been an adequate recreational life at the time when city living, industry, economic conditions and kindred forces began to make articulate this need, it is possible that this development would not have been so rapid even if none the less inevitable. Among the earlier in the field were vaudeville shows, theatricals, pool and billiard parlors, bowling alleys, amusement parks, skating rinks, wrestling and boxing spectacles, dance halls, cabarets and, still later, road houses. Then came the motion picture, instantly popular and drawing more patrons yearly until it today represents an industry with an investment of close to two billion dollars. Since the war has come enlargement of the field of sports including fee golf, tennis and swimming pools, professional baseball and football as well as the quasi-commercial college football and other athletic contests. Of recent development is the gigantic radio industry. According to the Federal Census of 1930, 40 per cent of all families in this country own radio receivers, but ownership varies from 5.4 per cent in Mississippi to 63.3 per cent in New Jersey.

All these forms of entertainment and others too numerous to be mentioned have aided in the wider provision of facilities for the masses and brought recreation to many who otherwise would have had none. Herein much of any value they have lies. In terms of the numbers reached, the commercialized amusements, particularly because of the radio and motion pictures, occupy the leading role in the recreations of the United States. In a recent study of this field the position is taken that

because of their general services to the public, commercialized recreations have justified their existence, and, apart from public regulations to eliminate abuses and associated evils, there is no need for much apprehension. It is suggested also that they are not as important today as in the immediate past, due to provision being made by other agencies to be treated below. Even the motion picture producers are absolved from censure because it is said that they have to give the public what it wants.¹

Such complacency hardly seems warranted if it is possible to do anything about some aspects of the situation beyond the traditional types of regulation which even now are admittedly not reaching highly questionable enterprises like road houses and taxi-dance halls. In these and similar amusements the exploitation of the public is well recognized and the ever present tendency to offer whatever will draw the largest attendance results in appeals to the more primitive desires and gratifications of people. But at the same time that the public weal is endangered, the individual himself is not stimulated to make progress to higher forms of recreation which would afford greater and increasing satisfaction, nor does he find genuine release from the tensions of work life. Of course the association of these places with practices of a distinctly anti-social character such as gambling, sex delinquency, or drunkenness has been all too common. On the other hand, social dancing shorn of these unsavory alliances is proving an increasingly popular form of diversion and would appear to have permanent status. As Kulp points out, its entertainment possibilities are varied, including the satisfactions from physical exercise, social contacts, new experiences and opportunities for better acquaintance with the opposite sex.²

The radio is proving a recreational boon to many a home, but carries other consequences of social import. In this field too there is the tendency to give the public what it wants so that the number of listeners will be large and the value of the broad-

¹ Steiner, J. F., *Americans at Play*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, Chap. VI.

² Kulp, D. H., *op. cit.*, p. 461.

casting station as an advertising medium may be enhanced. The quality of the entertainment thus suffers. Effects outside of the recreational aspects but inseparably connected afford interesting avenues for exploration, such as the influence on national tastes and attitudes, the control of public opinion, change in pronunciation and vocabulary. The spread of usage of such incorrect words as "irregardless" attributable to a popular black-face act is suggestive. Then there is the question of how much damage the cheap pictures of family and home life found in many programs do to the constructive efforts for better attitudes made by schools and homes themselves.

No longer is there any need for agnosticism in respect to potential good or ill effects of movie attendance upon children. As a result of a series of careful studies we now know that the average child attends once a week, that children and adolescents constitute 37 per cent of the total audience of this country and that nearly one-sixth of the total is under the age of fourteen. It has been found that children retain a very large proportion of what they see and thus the potential values for the formation of correct moral standards, attitudes and ideals and for the acquisition of desirable knowledge is exceedingly great. On the other hand, investigation brings out the fact that our present motion pictures are largely having the opposite effects with their distortion of social and moral values, their over-emphasis upon sex and crime, their constant presentation of a world peopled by parasites or by people for whom work is mostly a sideline or only for the lowly, and their lack of factual correctness. They are shown to be schools for instruction in the techniques of crime and immorality, and to have adverse physical effects.¹ Of course, there are some good pictures.

One of the worst recreational aspects of a number of the competitive sports is the increase in the attendant betting,

¹ A description of the investigation, its materials and techniques may be found in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI (December 1932), the entire number being devoted to it. The popular presentation of the findings is contained in Forman, H. J., *Our Movie Made Children*, Macmillan, 1933.

with the contest thus being transformed largely for the bettor into a game of chance or into a serious business to the impairment of its play value. Even amateur and informal sports suffer in this way and are engaged in for extraneous reasons which rob them of their recreational character.

Public Provision. Recognition of the lack of recreational facilities as well as of the dangers in some of the commercialized amusements has led to a gradual development of public provision. As is to be expected this took place earlier in the largest cities where congestion had first become acute. Before the present century there had begun the establishment of municipal parks where people might escape to enjoy flowers and trees and find rest. A partial survey in 1930 of cities of populations of 5,000 and over disclosed 898 with parks containing 308,804 acres. For cities of 30,000 or over park acreage increased from 75,566 in 1907 to 258,697 acres in 1930. The operation and maintenance of municipal parks is estimated to require more than one hundred million annually. A recent trend is the acquisition of recreational park areas outside the city limits. Now the great increase in park acreage comes in part because of the new uses to which they are put. Grounds have been laid out for the various sports and equipment provided which would make them centers of recreational activity for all ages. Other public playgrounds also have been established so that instead of the 1,300 playgrounds reported in 1910 by 180 cities of 2,500 population and over, there were 7,240 reported in 1930 by 695 cities, and play supervisors were reported to the number of 24,949.¹ Almost one-fifth of the grounds were operated on a year-round schedule.

The Monthly Labor Review reported in 1928 the receipt of data from 872 cities which were conducting community recreational programs, an increase of 57 cities over the previous year. Separate play areas under trained leadership, according to this source, numbered 12,159, and in the majority of cases were

¹ Steiner, J. F., "Recreation and Leisure Time Activities," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 914-918.

managed entirely under municipal authority. Approximately 90 per cent of the money for operation came from municipal sources and a good part of the remainder was derived from fees and charges.¹

At a still later date than the earlier municipal movement interest began to develop in the establishment of state parks, especially in states at some distance from federal parks and forests. There are some twelve and one-half million acres in these two systems of park lands which with their camping grounds or other tourist accommodations and accessible roads, further extend the opportunities for recreation being offered at public expense.

Private Provision. Notwithstanding this expansion of public effort the years up to 1929 showed little diminution in the recreational endeavors which may be listed as private. Except in periods of business depression philanthropy makes large annual contributions toward recreation for the masses. Various local recreational clubs in social, musical, dramatic and athletic fields flourish although some of the more cultural organizations show decreases in membership and activity. Organizations, local and national, in the field of sports and games are especially prolific and virile. The federal taxes on club dues of more than \$25 amounted in 1930 to \$12,521,091.² The large membership in fraternal and social organizations has already been mentioned. In the previous chapter the relative decreased importance of the family as a recreational unit of the traditional type was observed. Yet it has by no means ceased to function in this respect. For example, the family proclivity for recreational motoring contributes much toward the vast total private car usage. Although this has fallen off some during the depression years it is estimated that in 1929 in this country forty-five million people took vacation motor tours.³ During the last

¹ "The Community Recreation Movement," *School and Society*, XXX (July 20, 1929), pp. 84-85.

² Steiner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 934.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 922.

century there originated a number of organizations like the Boy Scouts, which have as part of their purpose the development of wholesome recreation for children and young people. To their efforts have been added those of religious organizations in the present century. Still more recent are others like the Leisure League which sponsor recreation or education for recreation with very small charge as the price of its publications.

Special Problems. A characteristic of much of the enlarging volume of recreation is what Nash has called "Spectatoritis" or passive participation. From sports to the aesthetic there are numberless varieties of amusement which require little activity of vast audiences beyond silent attention or applause. If one takes the position, as for example Stuart Chase, that the more valuable forms of play are those "in which the player participates directly with his own muscles, his own voice, his own rhythm," then the value of recreation in a given culture may be judged by the relative proportion of participating versus non-participating forms.¹ Chase concludes that we are becoming a nation of spectators, and in terms of the number of persons involved there are grounds for believing he is right. On the other hand, Steiner states that if costs are considered the "bulk of our recreational expenditures must be charged against active rather than passive forms of leisure time pursuits," but apparently recreational motoring is included as an active form.² Happily, however, one of the rising trends seems to be in the direction of more participation, especially in the fields of games and sports, social recreations and outdoor life, and vacation activities. Schools have their share of guilt in fostering non-participating sports.

The status of recreation in urban and rural areas should be noted, yet the differences between the two are not as great as formerly. Most of the recreational developments traced in this section have originated in cities, their greatest growth has taken place there, or the largest proportion of the participants

¹ Beard, C. A., *Whither Mankind*, Longmans, Green, 1928, pp. 335-336.

² Steiner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 954.

have been city people. City conditions most accentuate the need for relaxing amusements and provide more ready cash to be used in their pursuit. City people are also at an advantage in the number of free facilities available along artistic, athletic, and literary lines and in the number of gifted persons in their midst capable of providing entertainment. Yet among their hordes are many without power to discriminate between the many opportunities surrounding them, and tawdry commercial amusements thrive as well as the better ones and in spite of the free or inexpensive pursuits of even greater value.

In the rural areas many people are still somewhat isolated; the hours of work during the seasons of open weather tend to be long for children as well as for adults; money income is small and little cash is available for recreation. Occasions for cooperative labor which formerly provided social and recreational features are passing with the greater use of machinery instead of man-power. The larger part of the facilities furnished in cities at public expense are lacking in rural towns and villages but organizations of various types for adults and for children, frequently having national affiliations, are entering the rural field and providing social and recreational features. Some rural institutions like the Church appear to be declining in strength and with them go their traditional social functions. Schools have offered meager curricular interests and have been dominated by too great agricultural emphases to the loss of general education. On the other hand, automobiles have made rural people less dependent upon the immediate localities and radios are found in substantial numbers in rural states—with the exception of the southeast. In fact, for better or for worse, the recreations of rural people are in process of urbanization. For example, one sample study showed that the eight most popular rural diversions were: reading, automobile riding, cards, movies, plays, radio, dancing and music.¹ Another such study disclosed the fact that 33 per cent of the rural whites

¹ Kolb, J. H., *Family Life and Rural Organization*, Publications of the American Sociological Society, 1929, Vol. 23, pp. 146-162.

indulged in reading aloud as against only 13 per cent in the city. Games were played by the whole family in about half of the rural homes and in only 40 per cent of those in the city. The same percentages were true of singing and playing music. Only about half as many rural families attended the movies together as did those in the city.¹

RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO PLAY AND RECREATION

Joint Responsibility. The primary concern of the school is with youth but once again it is to be observed that the school should not if it could pursue the even tenor of its own ways oblivious of the other social institutions of the social order which embraces them all. Opportunities for play and the education needed for a better recreational life in America are provided in varying degrees by several agencies. Notable among these may be the youth welfare organizations (Hi-Y, Scouts, Girls Reserve, 4-H clubs, etc.), community recreation departments, special boys and girls clubs independent of schools, church-related organizations and the family.

Differences are, of course, encountered from locality to locality in the activity of these various agencies and the numbers of children provided for by them, or what is of equal importance, the children not reached. Suggestive tabulations were made in 1931 and 1932 to determine the percentage of the school enrollment belonging to the membership of nine of these different agencies. In Sioux Falls 43.07 per cent of the children participated in these outside leisure organizations; in Nashville 36.4; Ithaca 25.17; Lincoln and Providence 22.73 per cent each; New Rochelle 17.40; Portland, Oregon, 17.18; Bronxville 15.61; Richmond 14.88; Atlanta 10.46; Denver 8.15; Winston-Salem 7.67; Ponca City 7.59; and New Haven 6.27.²

It is rather customary with some organizations to have their groups meet on school property and their work to be considered in the nature of part of the extra-curricular program for which

¹ Ogburn, W. F. and Tibbitts, C., *op. cit.*, p. 675.

² Lies, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 161.

the school provides faculty sponsorship; this is especially true of the youth welfare organizations and of some community recreation departments. The latter, as seen previously, were with increasing frequency up to the depression operating a year-round program which in seventeen of 36 cities examined in one study "included not only games and sports but, in many instances, also dramatics, handicraft and nature work, music and social diversions, some or all of these in each city."¹ The nature and extent of the cooperation by the schools with other recreational agencies must necessarily depend upon the local situation as well as upon more general factors of recreational life in this country, but it is well to remember that competent critics agree that the slow progress of the modern recreational movement is in part due to wide-spread lack of cooperation by the public schools.²

Educational Shortages. Recognizing then the need for co-operative action, there remains the summarizing of the particular aspects of the present recreational situation which by nature might be subject to influence directly or indirectly by the work of the schools. Since their origin and setting have already received attention, little more than enumeration here is needed. First, there is the dominant economic yardstick for the measure of a man's worth which subordinates the development of fullness of life, constituent and contributing factors in which are recreation and play. Second, there is the inability to amuse themselves on the part of a large number of persons, even among those who have had better than average school advantages. This suggests the failure of much school study to develop "leading on" interests. Third, coupled with this situation is the fact that people are without standards for properly evaluating recreation in terms of genuine satisfactions and benefits. Fourth, American recreation is still meager in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

² *Ibid.*, Chaps. VI, VII, IX, X. Cooperative planning, duplication, competition and similar problems are discussed relative to the responsibility of the school, with especial reference to the after-school hours, vacations, and the non-school population.

range and too much of it of a lower order of value or even detrimental. This statement has reference to the dominance of certain of the commercialized recreations, the professionalization of many amateur games, the large volume of passive participation, the disdain for some of the more intellectual, musical and artistic pastimes. Fifth, somewhat offsetting the above is a growing interest in the various active pastimes which nevertheless finds opportunities and facilities still lacking or greatly inadequate. Sixth, there is the fact that increasingly in many directions opportunities for recreation depend less upon the initiative or wealth of individuals and more upon group action. For example, were it not for the cooperative action having issue through the work of state fish and game commissions many ardent fishermen in the Eastern states would seldom find it possible to catch a game fish. Yet we do not fully realize the need for cooperation.

Constructive School Effort. Proceeding with caution to avoid inferring that the chief panacea for these shortages should be found in the school, let us consider what is possible for the school in this regard.

The Economic Yardstick. What is involved here is the change of a dominant element in the current culture pattern. Before a higher value can be placed upon recreation as an integral part of the good life, there must be a corresponding change in the concept of the importance of work. The forces which have resulted in the magnification of work have operated for considerable time and group attitudes and habits have become intricately oriented to it. Not only do the agencies of informal teaching now contribute to the inculcation of this point of view, but formal education like that in the school holds up the same magic touchstone, success in practical affairs. One of the favorite indoor sports of some educational administrators is the compilation of figures showing the "dollar and cents" value of education.

So if schools are to be of importance under conditions of

recreation at present it will be necessary for them to redirect their own emphasis and try to aid in changing the American outlook on life. This change in the attitudes embodied in the present economic yardstick should then be the first objective of the school. The impulse of many people on finding a need in the social order is to look around for a likely segment of subject-matter with which to meet it. In this case such a fundamental culture change is involved that the introduction of different subject-matter is not as important as that the teachers of all subjects do their work with the new objective in mind and attempt by their own contagious belief in a different view of life to awaken favorable attitudes in their pupils. The school with little or no equipment and a limited course offering can play its part as well as any other through the spirit of its teaching.

Recreational Insufficiency. What can the school do to free people from dependence upon professional entertainers, from falling into a recreational rut, from preoccupation with only regimented pastimes, from figuratively "being all dressed up but no place to go?" Certainly a number of the customary courses of study of schools are supposed to give insights and awaken interests which will provide satisfying activities for later life, but their failure to function is well known. That amusing even if overdrawn bit of satire by Stephen Leacock, entitled "Come Back to School," makes it clear why an overly factual emphasis fails to lead to enduring interests. In many schools today these customary subjects are being differently approached or organized, so that their carry-over value is being greatly increased; in many the situation is unimproved. Then there is the inability on the part of other persons whose schooling has been so meager as not to have been a factor one way or the other. But what of the children of such persons?

If a real canvass of possibilities is to be made we should start with the various types of recreational activities along the lines of which the school program might furnish some experience. Human beings young or old find recreation in connection with

the satisfaction of the following: the desire for new experience, the desire for creative expression, enjoyment of social relations, desire for physical activity, and the enjoyment of competition.¹ While it is not entirely accurate to classify leisure activities according to these gratifications, such a classification is in the main suggestive of their respective contributions.

Virtually every subject of the present school program should be of service in increasingly satisfying the *desire for new experience* if so organized and taught as to bring out its potentialities for being permanently interesting.² Of course, it is not to be expected no matter how attractively presented, that every subject will have the same appeal to each pupil and, therefore, a balanced curriculum is needed. Many adults by means of a hobby have through life found increasing enjoyment and new experiences. Schools have only begun to sense the possibilities in this direction in connection with the regular program or subjects. As a concrete instance of a helpful use, a Junior High School of Roanoke, Virginia, devoted several assemblies to presentations of the interest and values to be had in various hobbies, concluding with a Hobby Show.

The present program, however, in many schools needs some modification through changes in emphasis or the addition of subjects. In connection with reading, literature and language activities there should be more stress upon recreational aspects. While still pursuing reading as such, pupils can be encouraged to sample varied types such as history, biography and natural history as well as literature. The required literature in itself varied, should provide for the stimulation of existing interests rather than creating aversions. Then for older students the use, in addition, of scientific materials, current literary and news periodicals and newspapers offer further possibilities.

¹ Davis, J., Barnes and Others, *op. cit.*, p. 768. The above list is a modification of the four types of recreational satisfactions discussed by these authors.

² Lies, E. T., *op. cit.*, Chaps. III, IV, V. Herein are examples of the content and methods which are used with the curricular subjects in enhancing their value in training for leisure. See also the Symposium, *What Is Being Done to Educate for Leisure?* Junior-Senior High School Clearing House, VII (May 1933), pp. 536-548.

This points to the need of a usable school library and the organization of the schedule to allow opportunity during the day for recreational reading.

The tendency in dramatics to widen pupil participation opens another avenue for the gratification of the desire for new experience. There are also many elements of creativeness where children under supervision initiate the dramatization of stories or their experiences, plan and construct scenery, costumes and staging. Aside from the appreciation aspect music offers vocal and instrumental participation. Beginning with less of the formal and more of the spontaneous and letting the more technical wait until it becomes a necessity modern music in the school attempts to conserve and increase the love of music and induct the child into the joys of musical expression.

Elementary and advanced science should make a larger contribution than is usual at present to the enjoyment of nature. Increasingly needed as an antidote for the ills of city living, outdoor life holds infinite possibilities for new and pleasurable experiences. The extra-curricular program may further the work of the science courses in connection with excursions, field trips for observation of birds, plants and animals, making collections, camp and woodcraft.

Progress toward the satisfaction of the *desire for creative expression* should also aid in providing powers of self-direction and independence for leisure hours. In addition to the creative aspects of dramatics and music there are the arts and crafts. Instead of a program for the talented few the newer courses are intended for all students; instead of a predominant emphasis upon mastery of technique there is opportunity for the development of skills new to the individual in making and doing things with paint, clay, textiles, metal, crayons, wood, photography, etc. In the elementary grades little or no outlay except for crayons and paper is needed to provide children the means of expression in art forms connected with their studies. These include pictorial maps from history and geography, scrolls showing historical events, illustrations of stories and poems,

friezes depicting characters of former days, scenes from outdoor life, stage sets for plays and many others.

Schools have in recent years given more attention to the *desire for socialability* and the ways of preparing children for greater enjoyment of social relations. Of course, the ordinary school contacts, formal and informal, lead to broader acquaintance with and understanding of other pupils, and friendships are formed. Many schools go farther and have social parties at certain times during the year. Where dancing is not frowned upon by the local community the school dance provides the best possible environment for this social diversion so popular with youth and makes an effective counter-attraction from the commercial dance hall. Parties may be for the whole school, for a class, or for an extra-curricular club, but in each case they afford opportunity for the enjoyment of games, impromptu dramatics, etc., which may be of use in informal adult gatherings later.

With the growth of physical education, playground games and more frequent excursions and sports, the *desire for physical activity* has been cared for better than ever before in American education. Despite this wider program of recent years there are two rather serious inadequacies. All too many studies have shown that a disproportionately large part of the budget is spent on certain activities of limited participation and that too few of the pupils are drawn into the program even if it is wider. In the second place, the physical activities most emphasized by schools are those not adapted to life-long participation, while the sports neglected are the ones more practicable later.

Through our present interscholastic athletics enough is being done to satisfy the *desire for competition* for the few. A vigorous intramural program involving competition in tennis, volleyball, playground ball, swimming, etc., would bring the development of habits and attitudes useful in out-of-school situations and thus capable of providing continuing pleasure.

Lack of Standards of Value. It was said that one reason why so many adults fail to get the most benefit out of their leisure

time is that they are unable to discriminate between the good and the worthless, between the beneficial and that of indifferent value. The result is that they unwittingly embrace inferior radio programs and motion pictures, worthless dramatic and musical productions, "orgiastic parties," passive amusements or are the victims of salesmanship when making expenditures involving artistic values. Through some of the more natural and participating forms of recreational activity discussed in the previous section, new and better standards may be presented to the younger generation. But in the case of the music, art, humor, story values, information and what not to be had over the radio or through the movies, the lack of intelligent standards is having such unfortunate results as to require more direct action. The Payne Fund Studies definitely showed that motion pictures do influence the emotions, sleep, information, attitudes and conduct of children and adolescents. Until pictures are forthcoming in which the effects are non-injurious there is need for protective efforts. The only feasible part that the school can play directly is to provide children with an opportunity to develop critical standards and a start has been made in this direction. Through the efforts of the National Council of Teachers of English, material on photoplay appreciation for use in English has been experimentally produced.¹

Improvement of taste in the field of radio depends upon the cultivation of higher standards of appreciation in regard to each type of program. Desirable current broadcasts may be brought into the school. Advantage is being widely taken of the Music Appreciation Hour instruction of Dr. Damrosch, the estimate of the number of school children being reached by these programs running into six million. Educational authorities, including state departments of education, are experimenting on an increasing scale with making up their own programs, but the purposes in such cases are not usually recreational. Suggestions

¹ Lewin, W., *Photoplay Appreciation in American High Schools*, Appleton-Century, 1934. Also useful is Edgar Dale's *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures*, Macmillan, 1933.

for more effective educational use of the radio and an excellent bibliography are contained in *The Art of Teaching by Radio*.¹

Finally in line with the suggestion of L. P. Jacks that leisure is a matter of consumptive activities, Harap opines "The program of art appreciation should anticipate the following activities of the lay person as a consumer: the purchase of clothing, textiles and jewelry to adorn his person; the purchase of pictures, floor coverings, furniture, hangings, lamps, tableware, and other art objects to decorate his home; and the enjoyment of printing, photography, and illustration."²

Meagerness of Range of American Recreation. The fourth shortage to a considerable extent is the outcome of the incompetency and lack of discriminative powers discussed in the two preceding sections. To the degree that the school succeeds in meeting these conditions it will contribute to the broadening and elevating of recreational life, and much beyond that it cannot go. Of course, cooperation of school authorities in seeking better regulation of baneful commercialized amusement is to be desired, but the provision of a very extensive program of counter-attraction in the field of these activities such as recreational movies, billiard halls, etc., does not seem warranted, although the situation with regard to social dancing has possibilities in many communities. School authorities would probably be willing to go farther than the public now wishes in removing aspects of professionalism from student athletics. This should be done as rapidly as possible and, together with effective planning to secure a larger amount of active participation by all pupils, it would go far toward the creation of a more meaningful recreational life. Present disdain for the more artistic and musical pastimes will likely be less pronounced under the influence of the new methods of instruction.

Inadequacy of Recreational Facilities. The possibilities of wider use of the school plant by the community are to be con-

¹ U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 4, 1933.

² Harap, H., "Planning the Curriculum for Leisure," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 7 (January 1934), p. 320.

sidered in a later chapter. The other contribution the school might make to present facilities especially in cities is through gymnasiums and playgrounds for pupil use. Still more play areas are needed than are at present supplied by municipal recreation departments or school authorities in large cities. Some of the 1,680 children reported killed, and of the 48,100 injured by automobiles while playing in streets during 1933, might have thus been saved. Although rural districts have space for play, equipment is likely to be lacking unless school authorities take responsibility. A survey in 1929 of city school systems where presumably the greatest progress might be expected revealed considerable deficiency. Of elementary schools investigated in cities with populations of 30,000 to 100,000, 20 per cent were without playgrounds and scarcely 50 per cent of the city high schools had either playgrounds or athletic fields. Of both elementary and high schools reporting from 410 cities 30 per cent had gymnasiums but 48 per cent had neither gymnasiums nor play room.¹ According to informed opinion the erection and administration of recreational facilities by separate agencies accounts for much of the progress in this field because school authorities have been tardy both in making such provision for their own pupils and in co-operating with others to this end.

Increasing Dependence of Satisfactions upon Community Organization. The growing density of the population, the economic system and the maturing of our civilization all make a trend in this direction inevitable. There is little that can be done about it except to face the situation and orient teaching to the idea that the growing interdependence in the field of recreation just as in other lines must be met with informed intelligence and cooperative attitudes on the part of pupils.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Four criteria for a desirable leisure pursuit according to Lundberg are: capacity for being relatively permanently interesting, as different

¹ Steiner, J. F., *Americans at Play*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 22 and 24.

as possible from the activities which a person's station in life forces upon him, should have as far as possible both its origin and fulfillment in the individual himself, compatibility with physical and mental health and personality development. Use these four criteria in evaluating the extra-curricular program of a school with which you are acquainted.

2. A point of view expressed by J. T. Adams calls attention to the diminishing enjoyment values to be had in outdoor beauty spots as they become accessible to increasingly large numbers of persons. See his "Diminishing Returns in Modern Life," *Harpers Magazine*, 160 (April 1930), pp. 531-532. Do you agree with the writer? Is it therefore to be desired that fewer people have the opportunity to visit these places? Is it desirable that our large state and national parks be made completely accessible through a network of highways or should they be preserved in a natural even if less approachable state?

3. Analyze your own hobbies and favorite pastimes as to their source to discover whether schools or other institutions have been more influential in forming them.

4. On the problem of passive versus participating forms of recreation indulged in by the average citizen, read Chapter 6 of *The Rediscovery of Jones* by Simeon Strunsky and compare his view of the situation with that of Stuart Chase cited in the text from his chapter in *Whither Mankind*. Which to you seems to have the truer vision?

5. How do the regulations imposed upon betting, gambling and the sale of alcoholic beverages since 1933 differ from those before the War? Has there been a real moral slump? Analyze the recreational problems involved.

6. Do you feel that the text over-emphasized the point about recreational satisfactions being to a greater extent dependent upon cooperative action to make them available?

7. A senior in a certain high school, finding some spare time on a Saturday evening with no social gatherings scheduled, spent the time reading for pleasure. Another senior confronted with the same situation decided to arrange his own gathering and, rounding up some other boys and girls, brought them to his home, where all danced to radio music. Would you say that the second senior showed less recreational sufficiency as discussed in the text than the first? Just what is meant by recreational insufficiency?

8. The chairman of the Boston School Committee at the first meeting

in January 1935, proposed a program for the year which called among other things for, "A campaign to prohibit the admittance of children under twelve years of age to the evening performances of all theatres, unless the subject is purely educational in every respect." Provided such a thing could be accomplished, how effective would it be in relation to the problems of the influence of movies upon children? Would this move be a good one for general adoption by school authorities?

9. In a question of the legality of a school sponsoring certain recreations, the Assistant Attorney General of Kentucky released this ruling March 7, 1935:

It is our opinion that dancing and bridge have become so integral a part of American social life and are indulged in by so many persons, that they should not only be permitted to be taught but should be encouraged to be taught.

Dancing, especially of the ballroom type, teaches not only rhythm and cooperation, as well as grace, but is in addition an excellent physical exercise. Bridge is both entertaining and a mental stimulant. A well rounded education should give not only instruction in the sciences, in religion, in government, and in the practical affairs, but also instruction in the arts, to the end that all citizens who are the recipients thereof can have every side of their personality developed.

If backed by similar legal sanctions, are local school authorities free to proceed without further ado to the provision of the recreations mentioned? State the principles which should guide them both theoretically and practically in the choice of the recreational educational program.

10. An old Ohio institution, Kenyon College, announced in October 1935 a new program for the physical education work which is required of all students for graduation. The new arrangement requires the student to demonstrate proficiency in five activities of a group of "immediate needs": football, basketball, baseball, track, cross-country, wrestling, boxing, speedball, touch football; and in six of a group of "carry-over activities": tennis, golf, bait casting, archery, badminton, horseshoes, swimming, polo, ping-pong, bowling, handball, riding, volley ball, indoor ball, rifle shooting, billiards and hiking. How valuable do you feel such a program to be? Outline the detailed administrative measures for putting a similar one into effect in a high school.

11. Analyze the extra-curricular program of some school to which you have access to determine the proportion of activities which are of a type not likely to carry over to after school life.

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Forman, H. J. *Our Movie Made Children*, The Macmillan Co., 1933.

A popular compilation of the results of a five year study of the influences of motion pictures on child development.

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An excellent article suggestive of how recreational values may be emphasized in connection with present school work in arts and crafts, physical education, music and drama, language activities, etc.

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Useful for a summary of theories of play and reports of studies of the relation of play and age, sex, urban or rural residence, race, school progress and intelligence.

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Following discussions of the theory of and need of play there is a full treatment of the administration and organization of recreation.

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"Symposium: What Is Being Done to Educate for Leisure?" *Junior Senior High School Clearing House*, VII (May 1933), pp. 520-553.

Statements of present contributions to leisure education and of varying points of view as to what should be done by schools.

CHAPTER VII

THE SCHOOL IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Men have always had something of a problem in keeping the wolf from the door, even if the beast has not always appeared in the same guise or shown the same malevolent persistence in attack. Their efforts to obtain food, shelter and clothing, not to speak of a host of other satisfactions, have occupied large portions of their time and have become interwoven with the other activities of their lives. Since fundamental wants are involved, much of both our material and non-material culture tends to have economic linkages. Social arrangements displaying the definiteness and persistence of institutions multiply around the satisfaction of these wants.

Institutions influence each other, and no institution passes without leaving its legacy. Thus much of the change in American life so often emphasized is related to or coincident with what has happened to our economic institutions as we passed from a pre-industrial to an industrial society. For we are the heirs of the Industrial Revolution. Most of our possessions, acts, habits and even our thoughts and ideals are colored by the procession of inventions, techniques and social arrangements which we indicate so casually by this descriptive phrase. Yet the fathers of many of the older persons in our population lived and died in an essentially different kind of society, an agrarian one. Obviously a change of such magnitude and rapidity has many consequences for present society other than those more narrowly economic. For this reason we are interested in it beyond the point of simply seeing the implications for the work of the school.

THE PASSING OF PRE-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

When Thomas Jefferson dreamed of the America to be he saw it as a nation of free and independent farm families, living

in comfort by their own efforts, each on their own lands. Thus would men enjoy their right to individual freedom of action, find true equality possible and, secure in the ownership of home and lands, develop into the self-respecting and virile citizens which the late eighteenth century liberals pictured as the ideal. Conditions of life in our new republic seemed propitious for the flowering of this dream. There were people of ambitious stock, an abundance of natural resources including unlimited land and virtual absence of restraining influences. Further, they were children, even though several times removed, of the Protestant Reformation with its insistence upon keeping busy in one's line of work and avoiding waste of time in shiftless idleness or foolish pleasure.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century with new reaches of western territory constantly being opened to settlement the farm family remained the typical social aggregate. Agriculture and the home crafts were pursued with a view to use by the family. Thus it was self-contained and practically self-sufficient. People did not work to store up money but to produce the things they needed. Under such conditions a certain amount of individualism would flourish, the right to property would take on increased sacredness, regulative action from outside would not so easily be brooked.

The fact that there was always new land at the frontier affected national life in several ways. Surplus money and labor were constantly being drawn away from the older settlements and thus the development of manufacturing was retarded. It also provided an escape for those who felt oppressed by social and economic or political conditions. And many more found relief by moving to a frontier farm when prices of land and taxes rose too high, laws became more irksome or wages dropped. So long as the frontier beckoned no social lines could freeze too rigidly nor government become too irresponsible to the wishes of the governed, nor an employer too careless of his employee.

Although the economy of the early nineteenth century was predominantly founded upon agriculture and the home crafts

there was, of course, some manufacturing and trade. Some of the South Atlantic States were supplying European markets with tobacco, rice, cotton and indigo while the inhabitants of the New England coast engaged in shipping as well as commercial fishing. Trading centers were found both up and down the sea coast and at the intersection of routes of transportation in the interior. Steamboats were plying inland waters, canals were opening up additional waterways and steam locomotives were demonstrating faster land transportation. Cotton and woolen mills were operating in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and other infant industries were springing up which were later to relegate the instruments of home craft to the spare room and the attic, there to gather dust until a later generation sought them out as antiques. Thus by the thirties and forties were found beginnings in a number of the basic industries upon which our present industrial economy rests.

Externally, however, down to the days of Lincoln, our culture had more of a pre-industrial appearance. Inventions, meanwhile, were being made with increasing frequency showing that beneath the surface new forces were at play. After the fifties, as the evidences of the Industrial Revolution became much more conspicuous in this country the agricultural pattern of life began to change. Whether it was the inventions which helped bring about the changes or whether it was the developing cultural trends which called forth the inventions may not be dogmatically asserted. Many factors working together aided in the transformation which after the Civil War proceeded with startling rapidity.

The farmer has lost in large measure his independence and is as much a part of the new industrial society as is the worker in the steel mill, even though he still tends to cling to the ideas, attitudes, habits and laws of the previous period. How this came about may be briefly illustrated. Following the introduction of the cotton gin in the South in 1793 there was a greater stimulus to forsaking farming for one's own use and producing the single crop, cotton, for export. Larger scale farming in-

volved the use of more slaves or tenants and proved to be the most highly profitable method for this type of agriculture. The owner then found it necessary to have more capital because he had to make a larger investment if he was to succeed with a single crop. He also needed money with which to supply his other needs until his crop could be sold. If he borrowed this capital through the banker he became subject to conditions in the money markets. But his success also depended upon the price cotton would bring in both domestic and foreign commodity markets, and this in turn was influenced by the prices cotton textiles would bring the manufacturers of these goods. Prices were also influenced by tariffs, and the manufacturers early found means of making governments arrange these to their interests. There are many other factors involved but these serve to show how the farmer of one special crop becomes part and parcel of our close-knit, highly mechanized business life.

Mechanical appliances have made their way, largely since the Civil War, into every branch of endeavor of the farm home. Even before then, in 1847, Cyrus McCormick had begun the manufacture of reapers in Chicago. As the war took man-power off the farms reapers were introduced and their general adoption greatly hastened. This facilitated large scale production of wheat, as did the improved steel plow of 1870, binders, drills, threshers, gang plows and farm tractors of later years. Corn planters, huskers and shellers coupled with tractors and gas engines made large scale operations in that special crop feasible. Specialization in crop became more prevalent not only because of these mechanical aids to production but because of competition and the wider acceptance of the ideal of profit seeking instead of production for use. And it always meant that the farmer became more closely tied to industrial society. Cultivators, harrows and potato diggers released men from the hoe or plow to which man has been bound for centuries. Without detailing the mechanization of the farm home and agriculture it is possible to visualize the revolution which has taken place. Unfortunately though these machines all cost money and are

short lived as compared with the tools of history. Thus farm living constantly required more capital outlay.

Before the closing of the frontier about 1890 relatively cheap or free land remained available. Richness of land often compensated for poorness of method because once one piece of land had been worn out the family could always move to virgin territory. However, as the supply dwindled and then disappeared more science was required: fertilizers had to be used, costs of production rose and it was not as easy to undersell outside competitors. Prices of land advanced. Competition for desirable farms and farm jobs was made keener through the inrush of immigrants. The result by the time of the World War is well stated by C. A. Beard: "Throughout wide areas, the independent, self-sufficient farm unit of Lincoln's era had become a specialized concern producing for profit, forced to employ large capital in the form of machinery and fertilizers, compelled to compete with European agriculture on more equal terms, and obliged to carry the weight of an increment in land values which mounted with the years."¹

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

At the same time that these changes were coming over agriculture even more startling developments were taking place in manufacturing, transportation, mining and trade. The history of the revolutionary invention of machines and processes connected with these basic industries, many of them a matter of only the last six or seven decades, has often been told. American society and its economy have been transformed. The story is only partly told when mention is made of the shift from hand power to steam and electricity; of the evolution of manufacturing plants covering acres of ground out of the water-powered mill of a century ago; of the specialization and division of labor and the standardization of products; of the enormous wealth in coal, oil and minerals that have been extracted from the earth;

¹ Beard, C. A., *The Rise of American Civilization*, Macmillan, 1927, Vol. II, p. 277.

of the construction of a large proportion of the world's railway trackage; of the fabrication of a system for exchange of goods which exceeds in complexity the grasp of imagination; of the fact that, with only about 6 per cent of the population of the world, we annually produce and consume about half of the world's mechanical energy. For, carried along in the train of events, there was the alteration in the family institution already noted, modification of the ideals for which and of the standards of conduct by which men lived; former recreational satisfactions lost their tang or were not available, the struggle for economic security or monetary profit changed the relations between citizens and their government, the growing materialism profoundly affected religious institutions, we exchanged the elbow-room of the country for the congestion of the city. In the field of economy itself institutional changes were accelerated through what we have seen has been too narrowly called the industrial revolution. Among the more important economic institutions as listed by Ross are property, contract, inheritance, exchange, money, credit, interest, joint stock company and labor union.

Capitalism. A clearer view is needed than we have yet had of the motives, the attitudes, the assumptions underlying economic life in the United States today. These may be different in different nations which at the same time are chiefly industrial and, hence, these are the things which provide the clues to the particular characteristics of our economic system, which is spoken of as capitalistic. Dahlberg defines capitalism as that "system which relies on private individuals to adapt, through the use of an exchange economy, the science and commerce of the time to public need for the sake of private profit."¹

The roots of modern capitalism derive from various sources. There was the Protestant and Puritan magnification of the importance of application to work coupled with religious sanction of frugal living together which would result in the accumulation of wealth if other conditions were right. This

¹ Dahlberg, A., *Jobs, Machines, and Capitalism*, Macmillan, 1932, p. 7.

belief in the salutary and moral value of work, it is true, as Adams points out, has had some strange applications: as when New England textile mill owners in the 1840's refused to give up their twelve or fourteen hour day on the grounds that "the morals of the operatives will necessarily suffer if longer absent from the wholesome discipline of factory life."¹ Not much of a transition would be involved in considering accumulated wealth as rightfully earned and the poor as suffering because of their slothfulness. Another basic factor is production for sale rather than for use. As conditions broke down the self-sufficient home and specialization arose, production for sale naturally increased and the desires of more people for wealth were whetted. Especially was the desire found in the cities where the growing spirit of capitalism was earliest observed. Witness the advice of Benjamin Franklin which both Max Weber and Christian Gauss have recently cited as an early American exhibit.

Remember, that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle, one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only expense: he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember, that *credit* is money. If a man lets his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum when a man has good and large credit and makes good use of it.

Remember, that money is of the prolific, generating nature. . . . He that kills a breeding sow destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown, destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds.²

Even earlier there had been centuries of struggle to establish the right to ownership of land by other than the privileged classes. This right to property became one of the rallying cries

¹ Adams, J. T., *The Epic of America*, Little, Brown, 1931, p. 181.

² *Franklin's Essays and Letters*, R. and W. Bartow, 1822, Vol. I, pp. 91-92.

of liberal and revolutionary thinkers of the late eighteenth century. It was sanctioned by economic theory and with the rise of machine production was naturally extended to the ownership of these instruments of production as well as to the resources and raw materials which industry required. That same century saw the rise of the demand for freedom of individual action and non-interference of government which, since Adam Smith, has been called *laissez-faire* in economic theory and "Jeffersonian Democracy" in the political history of this country. In justice to Jefferson it probably should be said that he seems to have desired a minimum of governmental activity so that a man might develop his own powers through a struggle with natural conditions—not with other men, as the change in culture now makes the case.

In these origins we have several of what may be called the major psychological characteristics of capitalism. First, the belief that the mainspring of effort is to be found in individual self-interest. Each person is supposed to be better qualified to look after himself than any other would be. Each knows what is for his best interests, and if each is allowed to seek this, then both the greatest individual and social good will be achieved. Thus the motive power is provided by profit seeking. Second, capitalism rests on the belief in the institution of private ownership of natural resources and the instruments of production. This, it is held, leads to the most capable individuals acquiring the largest share of a country's resources, which are thus insured the most efficient management. Third, it is held there must be unrestrained power to bargain and contract with others. This means free individual competition both in production and distribution. If a worker is unjustly treated he is free to give up his job. On the other hand, the entrepreneur is free to bargain for his labor as cheaply as he can. The money of the capitalist will seek the most profitable investment and withdraw from the less productive. Rent will sensitively vary with supply and demand, assuring the largest returns in money to the landlord and housing to the renter at the lowest cost

possible at any given time. Through this "bargaining economy", prices are fixed, the economic values of natural resources, labor, management and capital goods determined, and the whole productive and consuming processes automatically adjusted. The interference by any type of restraining influence such as government regulation would upset the working of these natural controls. Of course, it must be realized that the theory of capitalism has not found complete application anywhere. Here in the United States modifications of various sorts have occurred but the underlying practices and their basic principles are capitalistic.

An example of a modified view may be given. Eschewing what he was pleased to call "abstract descriptions," the Editor of the *New York Times* on December 16, 1934, under the heading "Life in It Yet," wrote for the enlightenment of the "ordinary man": "If the definition of capitalism were to be 'a career open to talent,' he would know what you mean. Another way of making capitalism intelligible would be to say that it is the system which entitles the individual to develop his native powers to their fullest extent. This implies, of course, the right to keep and use what he earns, provided he does his complete duty to his neighbor and to the State. In that sense it is impossible to think of capitalism as extinct. Thrown out of the window by any conceivable social revolution, it would, as we are seeing in Russia, come back through the door."

The significance for the lives of men of the industrialization of this country under a capitalistic economy is well summarized in a passage of the syllabus for the course in Industrial Society at Dartmouth College: "Formerly men lived and worked in a huge world of widely separated parts, relatively independent local units of production and consumption, with the economic status of each individual determined by heredity and custom, and his welfare largely dependent upon the strength of his arm and the kindness of the sun and the rain. Now we function in a small, compact world of dependent units with economic welfare conditioned by the intricate operation of world markets.

Transformations in our economic institutions inevitably accompanied this process. The earlier economic system was one in which jobs were determined by heredity and prices by custom; the present system is one in which jobs are filled, theoretically at least, through free competition, and prices are set by a nicely articulated system which presupposes shrewd and equal bargaining between producers and consumers with the standards on each side set by vigorous competition between the members within each group. From a system based upon authority and established precedent we have swung toward one based upon the play of free private enterprise, with money as the goal and measure of success, and self-interest as the driving force which, we piously trust, is harnessed by our system to the task of promoting the general welfare."

CERTAIN PHASES OF THE ECONOMIC PROCESS

Attention is now to be focused briefly on several aspects of our industrial system. For a description of that system itself the student must turn to the detailed study of Economics. A literature of both fact and interpretation exists in such voluminous form that no limited review can present it in pre-digested form. Attempts in that direction can only be partial and somewhat superficial, but by confining ourselves to four or five features we may perhaps avoid these hazards and yet view what has material significance for education.

Production. The first point to be noted is that a concept so frequently bandied about in recent years, "economy of abundance," needs to be modified to "economy of potential abundance," or, perhaps better, "potential economy of abundance." The United States has not yet the capacity to produce all the goods and services which might reasonably be utilized. It is estimated that at the height of the boom period of the twenties our production lacked 20 per cent of using our productive capacity. Observation of this failure in outstanding cases as in transportation or shoe manufacture led some to conclude that

the United States had indulged in an orgy of excessive over-building of its productive facilities. Careful investigation shows that this conclusion is unwarranted and that, in general, since 1900 productive capacity has not grown out of proportion to increasing consumption. As a matter of fact, if power of consumption were increased through raising all family incomes below \$2,500 to that figure with no changes above that level or any account taken of possible increased consumption by some nine million individuals not attached to families, a consumptive demand would be created in excess of the potential productive capacity of the nation in 1929.¹

Whatever else may be said of our present system then there seems not to have been any general over-production. Competent students go farther and suggest that genuine over-production is unlikely in the near future. No matter what technological advances have been made by engineers we cannot scrap present plants and capital, and replacement with the new will be slow. In view of present capacity, if we desire to maintain standards of living, the near future will call for about as many people working and for as long hours as during the twenties.²

Concentration. The apparent over-production is to be explained in part by lack of purchasing power among many of our people. This unequal distribution of income is only one aspect of concentration. Another is the unequal holding of wealth itself. Still another concerns the control of the productive and distributive resources and processes. The last will be considered first.

Business Control. In the pre-industrial days the individual entrepreneur was dominant in every field. The changes that followed have increased the competition, made more capital necessary and jeopardized stability so that in other fields than agriculture men have found it expedient to group together to do business. Historically there were other advantages also of

¹ Leven, M., Moulton, H. G. and Warburton, C., *America's Capacity to Consume*, Brookings Institution, 1934, pp. 127-128.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

combination. A group would be more influential working with others to secure favorable tariff concessions or to acquire grants of money, forests or mineral rights such as those made by the government in the last century. In turn such advantages would further intrench their position against competitors. Thus business came often to be conducted by partnerships instead of on the individual basis. In either case, however, there were rather close relations between employers and employees.

There followed other forms of organization, including the corporation, which was far less personal. For those issuing stock the ultimate control of the corporation resided with some or all of the stockholders to whom the actual management was responsible. As the stock became widely scattered in small holdings the power of control was increasingly exercised, and thus, for all practical purposes, concentrated in the hands of the management. There arose, therefore, gaps between employees and owners and between the latter and the managers.

While today over half of the firms of the country are owned by individuals, it is the corporations which control the larger part of our economic life. But concentration is seen again in that of both types of firms only a few hold the most power. One investigator reported in 1929 that of the 2,260,400 firms of the nation only 3.8 per cent had sufficient financial strength to be considered major enterprises. This 3.8 per cent did 86 per cent of the volume of business. For example, of the 1,120 steamship companies, 35 did approximately 70 per cent of the business. Of 4,567 electric companies 150 did 92 per cent of the business.¹

Since the World War hundreds of firms have been consolidated through mergers or purchase or brought under unified control through the setting up of holding companies. Large combinations have evolved through the development of chains of retail stores of all types. Through these various channels concentration has proceeded to the point where two competent students

¹ Starch, D., "Who Does the Country's Business?" *Magazine of Business*, LV (March 1929), pp. 273, 319-322.

estimated that, around January 1, 1930, two hundred out of over three hundred thousand non-financial corporations controlled 42.2 per cent of the corporate wealth and 22 per cent of the national wealth. This means that approximately 2,000 individuals of these corporations out of a population of over one hundred and twenty-five millions were in a position to control and direct half of industry.¹ Such facts raise questions regarding the adequacy of public control to conserve the interest of the general public.

Distribution of Wealth and Income. Individual wealth and income provide the other aspects of concentration to be examined. The Editor of the *Journal of the National Education Association* in the December issue 1934, quotes Senator Robert La Follette, Jr. as follows:

If all the wealth in the country were just \$100, and if only 100 men represented the whole country, here is how it would be distributed on the present basis:

One man would have \$59

One man would have \$9

Twenty-two men would have \$1.22 each

Seventy-six, all the rest, would have less than seven cents each.²

Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, such figures can only be considered as estimates or even guesses which may or may not have been approximately correct at the time made. A very limited study of the estates of deceased persons in thirteen states reported by the Federal Trade Commission in 1926 showed that about one per cent of the descendants owned about 59 per cent of the estimated wealth, while around 13 per cent owned more than 90 per cent. The best that can be said is that there is a very uneven distribution of wealth. Should this always vary with the efficiency of the holder and his value to society there would be little complaint. Capitalism main-

¹ Berle, A. A. and Means, G. C., *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, Macmillan, 1933, pp. 32-33.

² Morgan, J. E., "The Corporation in America," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23 (December 1934), p. 227.

tains that a certain amount of this is in the interest of greater and more efficient production or management.

Furthermore, there would be less tendency to question the distribution of the ownership of wealth should incomes not be found concentrated in too narrow a manner. Again there are the problems of obtaining complete and reliable data but several quite satisfactory studies indicate the situation. One group of investigators reports for the year 1929 as follows:

21 per cent of our 27,474,000 families had an income of less than \$1000

42 per cent of the families had an income of less than \$1500

71 per cent of the families had an income of less than \$2500.

Stated differently, about 21 per cent of the families received only 4.5 per cent of the nation's income while the top 0.1 per cent received practically as much as 42 per cent of the families at the bottom of the scale.¹ The inequality of the distribution grew greater during the prosperity of the twenties.

The development of our rich natural resources, technological advance, the acceleration of production, the nature of our people and other factors made possible rapid increase of wealth in the United States and the attainment of standards of consumption not paralleled in other nations. Our national income reached the astounding high mark of 83 billions in 1929, but, as seen above, many people had only a small share. Just how meager the share of those at the bottom of the scale was can best be seen by examining standards of living. These standards depend upon such factors as size of family, efficiency of family, occupation, individual and social conditions, as well as upon differences in income and purchasing power from year to year. A classification was made of the population into six broad income groups which in 1929 were estimated to contain the following percentages: wealthy, 0.6 per cent of the population; well-to-do, 1.8 per cent; comfortable, 5.9 per cent; moderate circumstances, 13.7 per cent; minimum comfort, 35.7 per cent; sub-

¹ Leven, M., Moulton, H. G. and Warburton, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

sistence and poverty, 40.6 per cent. The range of family income found in each of these groups respectively was: \$25,000 and over; \$10,000-\$25,000; \$5,000-\$10,000; \$3,000-\$5,000; \$1,500-\$3,000; under \$1,500.¹ The adequacy of income to a given family depends upon several factors, but the authors suggested that at 1929 prices a family income of \$2,000 might perhaps be regarded as sufficient to supply only basic necessities, yet 60 per cent of the total number were below this standard.

Still another student of consumption who carefully describes the criteria of each of these levels, tentatively estimates for 1929 costs and dollar values, the generalized size of income necessary for married couples with two children to maintain a given level:²

Bare subsistence level	\$ 1,500
Minimum for health and efficiency	1,800
Minimum comfort	2,100
Comfort	2,600
Moderately well-to-do	3,700
Well-to-do	6,500
Well-to-do	10,000

The findings of a survey of city dwellings as made by the Federal Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and reported in *The Real Property Inventory of 1934* may add a touch of reality to the thinking of the more privileged. For example, it was found that almost one-fifth had no private indoor water closet, one-half no furnace and about a quarter no bathtub or shower. Problems of economic and social welfare, as well as those with educational implications, grow out of the present trend in distribution of national income.

Occupational Changes. Not the least among the changes brought about by our new industrial order is the shift in occupations. Large scale, technological expansion within the most recent decades has diminished the importance of some occupa-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

² Nystrom, P. H., *Economic Principles of Consumption*, Ronald Press, 1929, p. 302.

tions, set new standards of knowledge and skill for operatives in others, brought still others into existence and subdivided others through specialization until they are almost past recognition. The effects on the workers, the some 40 per cent of the population gainfully employed, are increasing insecurity and decreasing opportunity for freedom in employment. Skills and techniques perhaps acquired through years of training and experience become obsolescent through changes in production based on technological improvements. With specialization goes the hazard of lack of adaptability for work in other lines should employment cease in one. Further, the training prerequisite to entrance contributes a barrier to all those who have not had the opportunity for acquiring it. The need for unskilled and manual types of labor is somewhat less than twenty years ago.

Obviously, present conditions of occupations, especially their instability, constitutes a serious problem to be met by society. If the school is to attempt vocational education, such work is closely involved with these trends. The answer to the question of whether the school should accept any responsibility must also be made in the light of this situation. In collecting the information for the Census of 1850 the enumerators for the first time made inquiry as to the profession, occupation or trade followed by the individual free males over fifteen years of age. The returns were presented in an alphabetical list of 323 occupations which were summarized under 10 general headings. Since that time enumeration methods have been greatly refined and extended to all the gainfully employed over ten years of age while the system of classification itself has been altered. Despite this a comparison with the "25,000 or more occupational designations" under the 534 occupational groups needed to display the 1930 returns is significant of the revolution in occupations.

Changes with respect to major occupational groups since the Civil War have been large. Whereas in 1870 those employed in agriculture, lumbering and fishing (most of these in agriculture) constituted 52.8 per cent of the total gainfully employed, in 1930 they were only 21 per cent, the decline having been in

absolute as well as relative numbers. The 22 per cent engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1870 rose to 30.5 in 1920 and then dropped to 28.6 in 1930. While in the former year only 9.1 per cent were required to carry on trade and transportation, 20.7 per cent found employment in 1930. In the same interval the percentage in clerical service rose from 1.7 to 8.2; that in professional service from 2.7 to 6.5; and that in domestic and personal service from 9.6 to 11.3. Although the number engaged in mining is small, it increased six-fold over the period. One of the interesting things reflected in these figures is that only 50 per cent of the working population was used in producing the vastly greater array of goods produced in 1930, whereas the smaller output of 1870 used 75 per cent.¹ The converse of this situation is the growing importance of the transportation, clerical and professional occupations. When change is so great that thousands of workers are engaged in occupations unknown a few decades earlier, the difficulties confronting the individual and those who attempt his vocational education are manifest.

Accompanying occupational changes and part of the whole growth of machine industry are a host of conditions and factors which profoundly affect the status of the worker. The large body of the latter is dependent upon wages and salaries for a livelihood. And, as we have seen, a considerable proportion is close to, or on the verge of, a minimum health level. Temporary or permanent inability to earn through seasonal layoffs, recurring unemployment because of slumps in business, migration of an industry, technological change and strikes constitutes a persistent threat of dependency. Further, our economic system, besides resulting in an uneven distribution of income, suffers from wide fluctuations in the range of prices which may greatly impair purchasing power. It is the opinion of some experts that machine production is having the effect of displacing skilled labor by semi- and unskilled workers, impairing the status of

¹ Hurlin, R. G. and Givens, M. B., "Shifting Occupational Patterns," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 284.

the first. In addition to the other difficulties in finding employment, the transfer from one concern to another is restricted through a practice, apparently fairly frequent, of setting maximum entrance ages as low as forty-five or even forty. For many reasons it has either been difficult or contrary to their interests for the owners, their management and labor to work together in the solution of such problems. Protective associations and organizations of each have been formed but frequently through their action the differences in point of view have been increased rather than lessened. The fact that most states now have some kind of workmen's compensation insurance laws, legislation limiting the hours in the work day, and other legal restrictions on abuses and that some states have adopted minimum wage laws, old age pensions, etc., shows a growing recognition of the needs of the situation, as well as the increased power of the labor organizations. Of course many occupations are not covered by such enactments at the present. With such a large part of the enrollment of the schools headed toward filling places in the ranks of the employed many educators believe that opportunity should be given students to become acquainted with laboring conditions and society's efforts to safeguard them.

Efficiency. Few contend that our economic system functions with satisfying efficiency. That is one of the problems to be solved, a condition yet to be achieved. The events of recent years have so focused attention on these shortcomings that there is rather general knowledge of them. In more prosperous years the public may feel less concerned and the squeaks in the machinery may not be quite so audible but many are there.

Some years ago a committee was appointed by the Federated American Engineering Societies to study the waste in industry. Their study took account of the building trades, men's clothing manufacture, boots and shoes, printing, metal trades and textile manufacturing. The final report discussed four chief sources and causes of waste for which the committee estimated that

"over 50 per cent of the responsibility for these wastes can be placed at the door of management and less than 25 per cent at the door of labor. . . ." ¹ First, there is low production caused by such things as inefficient handling of the materials used, lack of standardization of specifications of products and tools, un-economical control of production, lack of research, faulty management of labor, etc.

Second, there is the waste of interrupted production. We always have some competent individuals out of work. During the boom of war-time activity "when unemployment reached its lowest point in twenty years" over a million were without jobs. It is estimated that through the twenties an average of two million were always unemployed. How great the shrinkage of production in depressions may go is shown by the fact that over ten million were unemployed in the early thirties. Another aspect is the ordinary seasonal employment. For example, the committee estimated that clothing workers are idle about 31 per cent of a year; shoe makers about 35 per cent of the time; the building trades workman about 37 per cent. Strikes are another cause. The number of man-days so lost ran to over 37,000,000 in 1927, according to more recent data. Thus in various ways by either men, equipment, plant or materials being idle there is loss to society.

A third source of waste was found in production restricted intentionally either by employers through devices such as price control or by workers through union restrictions. Finally there are the losses caused by ill health and industrial accidents of which in 1919 about 23,000 were fatal. By reason of accident "the time lost is estimated to be 296,000,000 days" which if the medical aid and the overhead of insurance be added, the estimated cost of industrial accidents in 1919 runs to \$1,014,000,000. Not as apparent but equally insidious are the diseases contracted through the chemicals used in manufacturing processes, particularly in many of the newer processes developed

¹ *Waste in Industry*, Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies, McGraw-Hill, 1921, pp. 8-23.

since the World War. These occupational diseases are somewhat difficult to recognize and their serious effects may be delayed in appearance, which in part accounts for the lag in protective legislation. At the end of 1934 while 44 states had compensation laws covering injury from accidents only 12 made the victims of occupational diseases eligible for compensation.

Another significant indicator of the inefficiency of our economy has been the prodigious waste of natural resources it has not only permitted but encouraged. The story of the un-economic exploitation of lumber, coal, land, the buffalo, food fish, wood pigeons, oil, gas, iron, copper, etc., has been retold with tragic clarity. The cream has been skimmed in a number of fields during the brief span of their development so that raw material costs are even now facing prospective increases and materials can be imported more cheaply than they can be produced here. Only during the present century have effective conservation efforts been made by the government and much remains to be accomplished to save what we have and chink the leaks before it is entirely too late. Knowing all this in the year 1935 we are still open to the charge of pumping our oil out of the ground at a frightful rate and sending it around the world at prices depressed by cut-throat competition, while the European nations eagerly buy, thus husbanding their own resources. We still leave abandoned, in the mining process, from a third to a half of our coal, this residue in many cases being left in such condition as to render its later recovery impossible.

Child Labor. One of the persistent problems of an industrial society of our type is the protection of its children and youth. While "work around the house and farm has never yet hurt a boy or girl," in our modern industrialized agriculture young children may labor for incredibly long hours, usually in the harvesting of a special crop as, for example, tobacco on some of the tobacco farms of the Connecticut River valley. In 1931 an investigator of this situation reported finding children as young as eight years working through the whole day, after which

they were too fatigued to eat supper or undress. Although not typical, he found on one farm twelve boys crowded into a room fifteen feet square which offered sleeping accommodations for only nine. Gunny sacks were used as mattresses and there was no regard for hygiene of any sort. Since then a gentlemen's agreement has been reached which has banned children under fourteen from this work. Other crops in different states for which child labor under injurious circumstances has been used are: cranberries, strawberries, onions, cotton, sugar beets and fruits. Even where the housing conditions have been decent and too great fatigue avoided, in many instances it has been stated that the morals of the children have suffered. State regulation of child labor in industrialized agriculture or domestic service is virtually non-existent.

As unfortunate as are these injurious forms of child labor, historically much worse has been the fate of the child in industry. In this country the extreme abuses suffered by children in England in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution have been avoided, but only slowly are adequate protective measures being passed. By 1930 all but two states had set fourteen as the minimum age for employment and in all but three a work certificate must have been issued before the child might be legally employed. The issuance of this is vested in school authorities in many cases since they are charged also with administration of the compulsory attendance laws. Regulations differ greatly regarding the number of hours of day and night work, in the ages set for entrance into various occupations, in the specific occupations banned as hazardous, even in the naming of the occupations that are to be regarded as dangerous.

So unsatisfactory does the situation appear that friends of child labor legislation urged federal action, and Congress passed in 1924 a Child Labor Amendment to the constitution, reading as follows:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

The amendment was approved by only six states up to 1933 but by the first of June 1935 the number had reached twenty-four of the thirty-six necessary for ratification. In each state opponents of the measure have bitterly denounced it and many organizations such as the American Bar Association have been among them.

It has been generally recognized, nevertheless, that effective protection and regulation of child employment did not exist. Thus in the blanket code and almost all of the industrial codes set up under the National Recovery Act in 1933, the industrial employment of children under sixteen was prohibited and in about half of the more hazardous undertakings the minimum age was set at eighteen. These features of the N.R.A. have been generally approved and, it is felt, should be conserved.

As industrialization in the United States began to reach its stride in 1890, 18.1 per cent of the children between ten and fifteen were gainfully employed. This rose to 18.4 per cent in 1910, since which time it has declined, reaching a low of 4.7 per cent in 1930.¹ Thus the trend seems to be definitely away from the employment of children.

From a consideration of the phases of economic life in the United States just reviewed certain suggestions appear. Real over-production is not immediately in prospect; on the contrary, improvement of the standard of living in which we believe will require even greater production, to be matched, however, by better distribution. The present uneven distribution of income not only prevents the latter and thus retards production but gives many persons socially undesirable standards of living. The pyramiding concentration of the control of business and ownership of the means of production of recent years in the hands of a relative few, together with our increasing interde-

¹ Judd, C. H., *op. cit.*, p. 9.

pendence makes inevitable greater regulation to safeguard the interests of the public. We are living in a period when occupations and technological processes are rapidly changing and the end is not yet in sight. Among other consequences have been the effects on the status of the worker who has not only himself been mechanized and made dependent upon wages but placed in the position of actually requiring protective legislation which is still inadequate. Thus a capitalistic principle is again in process of modification. Inefficiency and waste have occurred as our economy has not yet successfully acquired control over production so that it could maintain its pace free from various checks, restrictions and interruptions, some of severe character. There has been the loss due to the wastage of natural resources. The remedy here seems to be a more thorough-going application of the technological knowledge we already possess. Finally, a need of our economic life is the establishment of the application for all of a principle which is partially responsible for the decrease in child labor, a principle referred to in the previous chapter, namely that the well-being of men is primary and work only a means to that end rather than the supreme measure of human value.

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The solution or amelioration of some of the maladjustments observed above in our economic life depend to a large extent upon the action of other institutions than the school, though in the long run it may hope to contribute as it aids in providing opportunity for pupils to acquaint themselves with the factors involved and in creating attitudes favorable to progressive action. For example, if more people believed in the conservation of our natural resources—and the grounds for such belief the school could supply—the way to positive action would be paved for those capable of taking it. Or if more people desired to see existing socially undesirable standards of living raised—and an understanding prerequisite to this the school could supply—there would be the supporting public opinion so neces-

sary to stimulate activity by the institutions concerned. The teacher, therefore, needs to keep himself informed in regard to the facts and trends of the economic situation and to the best thinking in the field. Especially is this true for a teacher of social science for only thus will it be possible for him to effect the needed redirection of emphases in present courses toward a more realistic treatment of the problems. Certainly pupils cannot be expected to develop greater social consciousness and intelligent appreciation of the virtues and shortcomings of economic institutions than that possessed by their teachers.

There are, however, other aspects of the present economic and industrial structure with reference to which education is more directly and immediately concerned. For example, too many individuals choose unwisely and elect to enter crowded vocations, a matter closely related to the trends of occupational change previously outlined. Through lack of training others are unable to make an adequate living. In each situation there is a challenge to vocational education. Unfortunate results of the existing distribution of wealth and income may in part be met by wise consumption, something to which education may specifically address itself. The increasing class distinctions and group conflicts stimulated in economic conditions present a need for the promotion of social integration by schools. The competitive economic system has not always properly safeguarded child welfare for which school authorities in their appointed capacity as part-time custodians have some responsibility. Of what use can the school be in such situations as these?

Education and Child Labor. Regardless of the merits of the Child Labor Amendment, in many states children are not yet provided sufficient protection from work which is unwholesome or positively harmful. The power to remedy the situation lies with the people who, if really informed of the facts, would take the needed action. Yet the commercial interests or the ignorant

parent who profits through this labor attempts to befog the issues by proclaiming that an attack is being made upon the home whenever action is suggested. By learning the facts and using their knowledge when timely, teachers can aid in creating more enlightened public opinion. This means that teachers need to know for their own states the chief provisions of the child labor laws, such as the age and educational requirements for a work certificate, the occupations prohibited, the supervision of such work, records which the child must present to secure a certificate. Such knowledge will enable them to be helpful to pupils and parents as well as to the school officer or department charged with handling child employment problems. Through a knowledge of comparisons with conditions in other states, teachers can help parents and citizens to come to a better evaluation of their own status and its needs.

Economic conditions and a more rational regard for the welfare of children seem to point to older employment ages in the future, certainly in industrial occupations. An almost inevitable consequence, as this takes place, will be longer continuance in school by pupils. As a result of the higher minimum age under the N.R.A. codes an additional 100,000 pupils, according to estimates, returned to schools the first year. If more pupils remain longer in the schools, as now seems in prospect, the latter will of necessity have to make curricular modifications and other adjustments, and larger outlays instead of smaller for education will be needed. Society if for no other reason than self-protection will find it expedient to do something for those for whom it does not provide employment.

Social Integration. At a number of points through this book attention is called to the seriousness of factionalism, sectionalism, class distinctions, narrow group loyalties—stratifications of all types—which restrict understanding and cooperation to members of the in-group and enhance feelings of difference and antagonism toward members of other groups. In particular there is evidence that, with the development of our economic

life since the Civil War, the attitudes, shared contacts, habits and customs of people have become greatly divergent. Both in agriculture and business special interest groups abound. Along still other cleavage planes people divide according to the social standing of the occupations followed or perhaps more frankly according to the degree of wealth.

Caricatured as has been the melting pot idea in this country, nevertheless, ever since the days when George Washington urged the founding of a national university at the capitol on the grounds that "through the intimate intercourse of characters in early life" the youth "would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part," there has been the belief that our public schools are important aids in social integration.

As one views the class and group distinctions which have grown out of economic changes there is question as to how effective the integrative work of the schools has been in stemming this rising tide. In fact, by some the schools have been charged with doing little more than strengthening the tradition of the respectability of the white collar occupations. There is no doubt, however, that, as some of the other integrative institutions decline in effectiveness, there is more need for such service by the schools. The problem is how to improve the effectiveness. The proposition made in some quarters to put secondary education on a tuition basis would most certainly work in the opposite direction. More general is the standpoint that since we live in a social democracy schools should be so organized that children would come to know and appreciate the problems and views of all classes. Our free unitary, ladder system of schools is in the main consistent with this standpoint. Our concept of this system has called for some constants or subjects to be taken by all or nearly all pupils, for certain emphases in the social studies and for the administration of school life in such a way that the children of all the people may constantly intermingle. As stated, however, there are reasons

for thinking that we have yet to develop the unifying values latent in education.

To improve the integrative contribution one student suggests that present school classes should be so constituted that they will form the basis for development of primary social groups. That is, pupils should be classified together who are about the same maturity and, therefore, have a nucleus of similar interests out of which a wider range of shared experiences might grow. Since the present great age range found in the typical grade prevents this, he argues for reclassification in the interest of improved sociability. "Then we may expect the maximum interchange of ideas between pupils with a better understanding of diverse attitudes and points of view as a result."¹ Doubtless this would have some value, but the problem is far more complex than the simple statement of this solution would suggest.

Considerably more attention has been given to another phase of organization from the standpoint of influence upon the integrative function of the schools. With the great expansion of secondary education enrollments of recent decades, schools found an ever widening range of differences among pupils relative to backgrounds, abilities, interests, needs and occupational destinations. Accordingly curriculums were expanded and differentiated, largely according to the occupations for which they prepared. In many communities in the East the new curriculums were provided in separate schools which specialized in their respective fields of trade, commercial and technical occupations, leaving the college preparatory and general curriculums to the academic high schools. There are also specialized agricultural high schools in some parts of the country. In the western and mid-western communities where vocational work was undertaken the usual tendency was to offer it in the existing institutions which thus became comprehensive in type. The values of specialized versus comprehensive schools have

¹ Cowen, P. A., "The Application of Social Changes to the School," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI (March 1933), p. 411.

been debated on several fronts, one being their alleged difference in promoting social solidarity. On this point theory has rather generally favored the comprehensive school and this has found expression in such documents as the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Attempting to get more specific data investigators of the National Survey of Secondary Education sought the judgments of teachers in the various types of schools.¹ Naturally there were many differences among the 2,738 teachers who cooperated, but the average teacher thought vocational pupils tended to take part in social activities less, to associate with academic pupils in out of school hours less and to develop feelings of social difference more when enrolled in specialized schools than when enrolled together in the comprehensive ones. It was felt also that the association in the latter had a favorable effect on the work attitudes of the vocational students. On the other hand, it was the belief that the group spirit and morale of vocational pupils were stronger in separate schools. Thus the composite judgment of these 2,738 teachers would support the comprehensive type of organization as more valuable in promoting social integration, whatever other grounds there may be for supporting or criticizing it.

From the above the student will probably conclude and rightly, that much thinking and action remain for the future before education will effectively meet the problems of social dis-unity.

Consumer Education. One of the present economic needs of the individual is an understanding of sagacious consumption. Freedom of the individual to bargain was seen to be a tenet of capitalistic theory. In practice many restrictions have grown up, for it was clear that all individuals were not competent to safeguard their own interests. Technological advances and changes growing out of the industrialization of the last fifty years have made it increasingly difficult for the individual as a consumer to bargain on equal terms for the goods and services

¹ Kefauver, G. N., Noll, V. H. and Drake, C. E., *The Horizontal Organization of Secondary Education*, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 17, 1932.

he desires. Public regulation has been so opposed that it lags far behind the situation. The business interests which so frequently control schools make difficult the introduction of consumer education there, but slowly some has been brought into courses in home economics, junior high school mathematics and general science, more particularly in the first. In the home economics work, attention, although largely restricted to matters relating to food, housing and clothing, may rather adequately cover these fields. Suggestive of good practice is a course given in Detroit.¹ The following units indicate its nature. First are considered general principles of buying, such as, count your change, watch the weights on scales, check items on bills, etc. There follow such topics as the relation between habits of consumption and costs; federal, state and local measures protecting the consumer; food coloring; information about the labeling of products; standards for varieties and grades of products; real and apparent contents of containers; number of persons to be served from various sized cans to avoid waste; seasonal variations in prices; nutritive value of home and commercial products; differences between fabrics; description of tests; samples of satisfactory wearing apparel.

Although such training is highly valuable, leaders in the field are already urging additional work in techniques of buying and renting houses; determination of what fuel and light are best under given conditions; insurance and such matters. Unfortunately this material is seldom provided for boys since there are still few home economics courses open to or taken by them. Furthermore, a still wider range of information is needed by both than present textbooks and courses supply. Such topics as the following suggest aspects broader than simple purchase of food, housing and clothes: leisure and consumption, protection of the consumer, pressures on the consumer to buy, savings and investments, changes in expenditures and standards of living with income, influence of size of family on consumption, medical

¹ Jarrard, E. D., "An Exhibit of Present-Day Home Economics," *Journal of Home Economics*, 26 (August-September 1934), pp. 418-421.

services and drugs, travel and transportation, consumers' co-operative associations. Two investigations of textbooks in the social sciences, sciences, general business, mathematics and home economics revealed, with the possible exception of the latter, meager treatment or even mention of such topics.¹ Since textbooks determine the courses in most schools the lack is serious.

From quite a different source, encouragement has come for the promotion of saving among pupils in the hope that thrift will thereby be inculcated. Consequently during the last two decades hundreds of schools have set aside some time during the week for purposes of the school savings bank. The money set aside for saving by the pupils is usually brought to school and then turned over to local banks. In October 1933, W. E. Albig, deputy manager of the American Bankers Association, reported that pupils' deposits in school savings banks for the year ending June 30, 1933, amounted to \$10,332,569. Withdrawals, however, had exceeded deposits that year.

Since consumer education is needed by all pupils the most practicable plan for providing it appears to be through introducing units appropriate to existing courses which are required of or elected by virtually all pupils.

Vocational Education. Few subjects with more controversial issues are found than vocational education. We have traced the changes on both farm and city occupations which have increasingly prevented the young from acquiring a knowledge of the techniques and skills needed for successfully making a living. Even the selection of an occupation is fraught with danger: to the prospective worker because the field may be over-crowded or because he may not have the opportunity for acquiring the needed preparation; to the trained worker because a shift in technology may make his knowledge and skills obsolescent. While these changes were becoming more apparent around the turn of the century the general populace began to be more educationally conscious and to look to the schools to

¹ Koos, L. V., "Consumer Education in the Secondary School," *School Review*, XLII (December 1934), pp. 737-750.

attack the problem of vocational education. It was another case of the old story of a residual and supplementary role being expected of educational institutions. As pupils began to crowd the new-born junior high schools and the existing high schools, the latter found "practical" courses in great demand. The result in the larger communities has been the offering of a variety of vocational curriculums and courses. All this has happened within such a short time that it is still difficult to see where we stand and certainly much too early to forecast with any finality the results. However, progress has been made in that definitions of the issues at stake are now emerging.

In the first place, there is little doubt that vocational education is now and will be increasingly needed. Observation of current economic life leaves little ground for any other position, as seen in the difficulties facing workers:

1. It is more difficult for the worker to keep up with what he has to know regarding his work.
2. It is more difficult for him to keep up with what he has to do in his work.
3. It is becoming more necessary for him to use his head more and hands less.
4. It is becoming more necessary that he shall also have other assets in addition to specific knowledge and skill.
5. It is more necessary for him to keep in good physical condition.
6. It is more difficult to learn skilled occupations on the job.¹

Such are the findings of a study made by the Federal Board of Vocational Education. Besides these general difficulties faced by all workers, many additional difficulties are found peculiar to industry, commerce, agriculture and homemaking, respectively.

Yet, though there is little dispute concerning the need for vocational preparation, opinion is divided as to the proper method of providing it. At present there are three principal means. First, the worker is made responsible himself for ac-

¹ *Vocational Education and Changing Conditions*, U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Education Bulletin No. 174, p. 3, 1934.

quiring the knowledge and skills necessary. Thus the boy who would be a farmer must learn from his father or through working for others. The homemaker is expected likewise to learn at home. Since the former apprenticeship has largely disappeared in industry and commerce the individual has greater difficulty. He may attend a private school, as many of those preparing for the professions do. He may enroll for the apprenticeship training sponsored by the trade unions in certain lines of work, such as in printing. Second, the industrial and business establishment may itself provide the training needed by those entering its employment, as is the case with some public service companies and department stores. Concerns may also, as have the railway companies, cooperate with the unions in providing apprenticeship training. The third general means is through the public assuming responsibility and supplying school opportunity.

There are reasons for thinking the first means as ineffective and uneven as the present results will be even more so with the advance of our industrial society. Some hold, however, that such inadequacies as exist would be well met if employers were made responsible for training their own employees. Prospects for this on any large scale seem remote while the plan is not practical for many small concerns and neglects the fact that such training would be conducted primarily according to the interests of the employer without regard to those of the employee. For many such reasons it would seem that responsibility for vocational education should be assumed by the public, though individual initiative and cooperation by employers would properly be a part of the whole program resulting. Just as certainly public schools, as society's agencies for education, would play an important part. What this part should be, and whether the present secondary school should be the unit used, are debated matters.

Since pupils are remaining in school longer and securing employment later there is less need for vocational work below the high school level. There are many aspects to the question of

whether vocational education should be given in present secondary schools but such would seem wiser than to emphasize further class distinctions through setting up special schools for workers at the secondary level.¹ One's vocation is inextricably bound up with his social, moral, civic, economic, recreational and intellectual progress and so preparation for it should be a part of his general education. On the other hand, modern developments make the other parts of general education of such importance that it would seem a grave mistake to make vocational training virtually the whole of secondary education for any group of pupils. In the light of the demands of employers, moreover, this does not seem necessary. The primary objective of the school is effective personality and this calls for more than vocational efficiency, as important as that is.

Out of the pros and cons a belief seems to be emerging in some such program as this. Pupils should be given opportunity to learn about the principal occupations, their relative importance to society, opportunities for employment, permanence of work, skills and knowledges required, hours and remuneration, effect of the work on the workers, conditions, advantages and disadvantages. This knowledge can be provided through the use of excursions, outside speakers, vacation employment of pupils, vocation clubs and courses in occupational information—which last seem especially valuable. Their material may be placed either in a separate course or presented in connection with some other course which is taken by all. Many schools following the latter plan make it a part of civics and place it in the eighth or ninth grades.²

Success in work depends upon many other factors than the actual knowledges and skills involved. Interest, ability to get along with others, work habits, personal characteristics such as honesty and reliability, physical strength and intelligence may

¹ "Issues in Secondary Education," *Tentative Report of the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education*, Dept. of Sec. School Principals, National Education Association, 1934.

² Proffitt, M. M., *Courses in Occupational Information*, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 11, pp. 12-13, 1934.

enter in varying degrees into the required performance. Thus a part of the school program should be to encourage and assist the pupil to analyze his interests and abilities. In part the occupational course provides a means of doing this. Teachers of all subjects, however, can be helpful to pupils in self-analysis. Guidance, and especially vocational counselors, may help the pupils interpret their own potentialities, although at present this work is largely in an experimental stage. The pupil may get further light from his experiences in any vocational or pre-vocational courses which the school offers.

The third part of the preparatory program is the actual vocational training. In many quarters it is the belief that the school should not continue to attempt too highly specialized vocational training. Two counter trends are in part responsible for this. One trend is toward such specialization in productive processes that only a short time is required for the worker to acquire the needed skills and knowledge. Eventually much of this work will be done by automatic machinery. An opposite trend is observed in other occupations. Instead of becoming more mechanical, work requires more intelligence and broad abilities. Shorthand and typewriting skills, for example, fall short of what is required of many a stenographer. She must check bank balances, handle money, check the accuracy of statements and figures, deal skillfully with customers, etc. It would appear that outside of certain occupations broad knowledges and skills would make the pupil more useful on the job than merely finished mastery of routine processes. And with further changes inevitable his broader training should render him more adaptable to the new circumstances. And this part of the training is just that which the school is best fitted to give and which would not require too great an outlay in the elaborate equipment which so soon becomes obsolete. Having thus acquired a knowledge of basic processes, learned how to attack problems and developed fundamental skills in his chosen field in the school part of the training, the pupil is ready for that part which comes through study and experience on the

job. This would mean relinquishing the ideal of the school turning out a finished performer as being both impracticable and undesirable and recognizing that the detailed operative knowledges and skills must be acquired on the job. It is also a recognition of the fact mentioned in an earlier chapter that practical insight is most effectively acquired in the institutions where the knowledge and skill are actually used. In the light of this principle the plan of cooperative training in which pupils spend alternate periods of time in school and at work has much to recommend it.

From what has been said it will be understood that workers will likely benefit from, even require, vocational education at intervals throughout their working years to keep pace with the changes. This involves continuation and adult education.

Controversial Subjects. Economic problems are part of that realm which the school must touch with a full knowledge of the risk involved. Final answers to many of the debated issues are not known. Various groups within the community and nation have special interest in a particular view or practice. The border lines between propaganda and information are rather tenuous. Many teachers come from surroundings which ill fit them with perspective for dealing with economic questions and the demands of their teaching schedules make it difficult to find time for the study needed. The ages of children in public schools and their unusual interests are not the most conducive to thorough and impartial consideration of all points of view. Yet such problems need intelligent inspection. Teachers must more fully inform themselves and in connection with their own subjects be able to make such dispassionate and unbiased analyses of economic aspects as circumstances permit. Although the problem may be controversial the teacher must beware of encouraging the controversial spirit by his own treatment or actions, as that would be inimical to the ends sought. Even when they are approached in this manner there may be objection by parents or groups within the community and the time seems

far distant when school officials or teachers will cease to be martyrs in many such instances.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What is meant by "technological unemployment?" There is debate about how serious a cause it is of unemployment. What are the facts in the problem?
2. Why is the determination of the amount of money necessary for the maintenance of a given standard of living difficult?
3. Investigators of the Brookings Institution believe that in 1929, the quarter of our population living on farms had a per capita income of \$273, while the per capita of the other three-quarters was \$908. How reliable indices are these two figures to the relative well-being of the two populations groups?
4. What are expected to be the results on the standards of living in this country of the adoption of a thirty hour week throughout industry? Why?
5. If families with incomes below \$1,500 or \$2,000 received five hundred dollar increases, how much difference would this make in the amount they saved? Are there any reasons for saying that the power to save of those higher up in the economic scale must be protected?
6. There has been separation of ownership and control in industry as individual ownership has been replaced by the ownership by many stockholders through the corporate form of organization. In the operation of large corporations whose interests are more directly served, those of stockholder owners, those of the managing and controlling group, those of the workers, those of consumers?
7. Examine the occupational statistics of the last census and ascertain how many children ten to fifteen years of age were gainfully employed in your state. What are the child labor laws of your state? Are they wise and just?
8. In the attacks made in the state legislative halls upon the Child Labor Amendment passed by Congress in 1924 there recurred this theme (the words used here are quoted from a statement by the director of the Missouri Committee for the Protection of Child, Family, School and Church, his statement appearing in various papers early in 1934 in the Midwest): "Under this amendment, no part of rearing of the child by its parents would be beyond interference by Federal bureaus.

It would supplant parental authority, and substitute a Federal guardian. Every home in the land could be kept under surveillance by Federal police, to see that no Federal rule or regulation was violated by child or parent." Do you think this is a fair inference? How effective would this argument be with parents whom you know? Determine the answer by securing the reactions of five people to it.

9. Read the issues in vocational training described on pages 5-8 of *The Horizontal Organization of Secondary Education*, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 17, 1932. Write briefly what you consider the correct view of each issue.

10. Secure a school text in economics and examine it to determine the emphasis given to consumer education. In what respects is the treatment adequate or inadequate?

11. As a supplement to the general principles of vocational education enumerated in this chapter, draw up a list of principles which could be used in determining the particular vocational education to be offered in the schools of a given community, preferably your own.

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A sample study of the extent of non-social school clubs, types, organization and programs. Among the types treated are: household arts, industrial arts, business and commercial.

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CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

— An article in the constitution of the state of New York reads: "Neither the State nor any subdivision thereof, shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught." Similarly in Nebraska a constitutional provision reads: "No sectarian instruction shall be allowed in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by the public funds set apart for educational purposes. . . . Neither the state legislature nor any county, city or other public corporation, shall ever make any appropriation from any public fund, or grant any public land in aid of any sectarian or denominational school or college, or any educational institution which is not exclusively owned and controlled by the state or a governmental subdivision thereof. No religious test or qualification shall be required of teacher or student, for the admission or continuance in any public school or educational institution supported in whole or in part by public taxation." With existence of some such provisions, though varying in scope, in virtually all state constitutions, an idea has become rather current that public schools have little or nothing to do with religion. Consideration will show that the matter is not so easily dismissed. In so far as education is concerned with the growth of effective personality it finds religion a factor, frequently already in the field, to be reckoned with. Moreover, schools, as seen, have supplementary and residual relationships with the other social institutions, and this includes the church.

[Although on occasions in the past there have been people ready to write the epitaph of religion the subsequent vitality of the latter has been an inspiration for its followers and a cause of amazement for its critics. Even at the present, as some prophesy dissolution and decadence, religious bodies display remarkable growth and holding power.] Their influence is such that in one nation an attempt is being made to abolish religion as a hindrance to the development of a more socialized state; in another the attempt is to capitalize this influence for national ends through revamping the organizational expression and ideology. Our first need then is an understanding of what part religion plays in the affairs of men. We are particularly interested in knowing whether man is "incurably religious" as is sometimes affirmed—whether religion is with him simply a habit which could be replaced by some other habit; whether religion is entirely a personal and individual affair; whether religion has any place in a society living in an age of science.]

NATURE OF RELIGION

[Before any progress can be made with such queries there must be some definition of religion, and this is difficult in the face of the known diversities in the practices, attitudes and beliefs called religious. There are those who conceive it as entirely individual. "Recognizing that religion is, to a large extent, a private activity, personal, emotional, spiritual, in any case individual, the new _____ Union does not attempt to define religion," was the pronouncement of the faculty-student committee of a New England college. On the contrary, others emphasize its social and collective nature, holding, for example, that the problem of religious education is transmitting the cultural heritage, not seeking the development of possible innate religious tendencies. Other definitions divide over the importance assigned to beliefs as compared with emotional attitudes.] Yet if the former are held to be essential, care must be taken not to imply a specific set of beliefs, for these vary too much between peoples. Using emotional attitudes as a criterion

opens the way for individualizing the religious beyond identification since emotional accompaniments are found in a multitude of life situations. To avoid this dilemma some limit the *sine qua non* to the attitudes expressive of the values to which allegiance is given. Thus religion is manifested in the relation of the individual to what he conceives to be the ultimate values of life.

Admitting the intricacies of a valid definition, others attempt a more general statement based upon the results of a comparative and historical study of religions. For example, Kirkpatrick from this approach offers the following formula: "Religion is a culture pattern based on relations with the Supernatural, or the Extraordinary, as conceived by the particular people involved."¹ Expressed in another way, the results of this approach may be said to show that some thing or power underlying life, some force or some spirit, God, is thought of as sacred and mysterious. In relation thereto a complex of emotional attitudes is developed, ranging from fear to respect, from feelings of dependence to buoyant confidence, from quiet joy to ecstasy. These attitudes incline the follower toward certain observances and practices and to abstinence from others. There is much to commend this method of determining the essence of religion because it avoids the vagaries of individualistic imagination and finds its norms as beliefs and attitudes characteristic of religion in general. It reveals that basically there is both belief in something which transcends the ordinary and in the correlated emotional attitudes.

Returning to the question of whether religion is purely an individual and private affair or a social one, the answer seems to lie between. On the one hand, a flourishing religious life does not seem to be found existing isolated in the individual. The latter, however, possesses emotional and mental characteristics and faces situations which jointly give rise to beliefs and attitudes. Facing devastating or striking natural phenomena, affected by circumstances beyond his control, man

¹ Kirkpatrick, C., *Religion in Human Affairs*, Wiley, 1929, p. 19.

may experience fear, awe, wonder, dissatisfaction, gratitude, love, etc., or any combination of these such as reverence, and he may gain composure or understanding by accepting certain beliefs about the controlling spirit or power back of the phenomena or circumstances.]

Thus religion rests on the need of the individual to understand the world and universe, his feelings of dependence and insufficiency, the desire to feel that his own life and actions play a significant part in events, his need to objectify his ideals, to find comprehension in some underlying cause or being.]

Yet just as certainly as such needs contribute to religion it is a social affair also. The hunt for religious instincts has been fruitless and the very emotions and attitudes referred to above both develop and are guided by social stimulation. Not only that, but the channels through which they are expressed, the patterns of conduct, are socially determined. It must not be forgotten, as Faris has reiterated, that the culture of which religion is a part precedes the individual with all that this signifies. As Cooley says, "religion lives only by communication and influence" and rests upon some kind of social structure which performs the functions of a church.¹ In other words, it is distinctly institutional and although the formal structures may change they are always an indispensable part. The social nature of religion is further seen in the function of groups. The existence of the latter, whether it be a church or something similar, attracts individuals, providing them a means of identifying themselves in the collective enterprise and simultaneously giving them the recognition which gratifies the ego.

Although this is an exceedingly brief view of the evidence its purport should be clear, namely, that religion is a social organization of beliefs, attitudes and practices which root back in individual needs and that any one-sided theory does violence to the facts.

¹ Cooley, C. H., *op. cit.*, p. 373.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION

Need for Religion. [A few iconoclasts in every age have protested that religion was not needed.] Force has been given to their arguments by the admitted abuses and evils that have frequently been traced to historical religion. In our own age, with the reaching out of knowledge in many realms heretofore shrouded in mystery, with the advances made in the social and natural sciences, some have contended that man for the first time in human history may indeed live adequately in the light of reason, that religion is no longer needed.] Granting that science has tremendously extended the boundaries of the explained and the explainable in recent times, a vast part of the universe remains and much of it apparently always will remain beyond the reach of the rational. In respect to the other parts it hardly seems that the factual explanation will prove completely satisfying. As Chapman and Counts suggest, a general interpretation of life will always be desired by human beings. Since existence transcends reason, other modes of adjustment besides intelligence are required, and religion is one of these "adaptive devices," to use the term of Ellwood. [More specifically, the values of religion may be thought of as personal and social.]

Personality Values. Before this discussion proceeds further, recognition should be made of the fact that great individual differences are found in religious sensitivity, in the strength of the needs thus requiring satisfaction, in the extent to which people are satisfied by immediate experiences only, and so on. These in part will determine the religious patterns which will seem good as well as the degree to which they seem necessary to individuals.

But the truth remains that all of us at times and many of us most of the time have needs wherein religion can be of genuine value. Ideals are needed in personal life as well as in the social. Not only do they provide goals which are in themselves desirable but in their appeal to men they afford an opportunity for

individuals to work for their fulfillment, and men are at no time so happy as when giving of their effort to a cause considered worthwhile. Simultaneously there comes a feeling of being important and self-esteem—a normal measure of which is vital to the healthy maturing and functioning of personality—is enhanced. This is another way of saying that religion gives significance to the acts and life of the individual. And the person who thus gains a higher conception of himself is likely to be stimulated to effort to live up to that conception. This is another instance of the operation of the "mirror self" previously discussed in personality development.

Existence as we actually experience it is far from attaining the ideal. There are frustrations, reverses, discouragements, seemingly insurmountable obstacles, trying strains and stresses and endless conflicts. Yet the embattled individual needs to keep putting forth effort, maintain confidence in himself and in the worthwhileness of doing his best. He must not lose faith in life.] To keep up his personal integrity he must avoid becoming disillusioned, cynical or drifting into aimless futility or worse. As Fosdick has pointed out there seems to be a relation between atheism and discouragement. Historically religion has performed notable service to the individual in aiding him to enlarge his perspective beyond the things immediately present and in giving him comfort and confidence. What this has meant for the unification of personality cannot be estimated.] This cannot be dismissed by the critic as a mere escape from reality, for as Young suggests, it is not so much an escape as a transition from one sort of reality to another equally genuine.¹ The latter has its existence in cultural approval and thought-life, but is none the less real. The individual who gains confidence from thought of and reverence for that power underlying existence is strengthened to make needed effort to overcome personal difficulty and to rise to the moral standards set by society.

[On the other hand, it must be frankly admitted that religion may produce at times unlovely traits in personality such as

¹ Young, K., *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., 1934, p. 301.

bigotry and intolerance or a tendency toward uncritical attitudes. These are evils, but ones which are amenable to right education, while after all the more serious criticism has been leveled at the social consequences.]

Religion and Social Welfare. A great variety of opinions has been expressed, and not an inconsiderable amount of evidence produced respecting the significance of religion in social welfare. Some feel, with Cooley, that the greatest service of religion to society has been to disseminate to an ever widening circle ethical perceptions, ideals, nobler attitudes. Through its organizational side religion has potentialities—that few institutions have—for doing this, and its progress has consisted largely in increasing the numbers to whom it has brought its ethical teachings.]

[Others would suggest that the value of religion to society flows from its power to originate in the first place new standards of value and action and to set new ideals. They point to the fact that science only deals with a part of life and does not appraise its own findings even there. The proper sphere of religion is to evaluate knowledge and then to seek the universalization of the values.] There is some historical evidence that religions have had a part in creating new ideals but far more that their greatest influence has been in sanctioning those already in existence.

Thus the debate usually comes around to the question of whether religious sanctions are necessary for the preservation of moral codes. Whatever other exceptions may be noted, certainly western religions have had a close connection with moral codes. But evidence also comes from other religions farther afield of the influence upon conduct of beliefs in future punishment or reward, of the belief in a God, etc. In the less advanced forms especially do the religious sanctions emphasize fear of punishment and loss of things desired. [To this type of control of conduct Ross applied the term "legal" or it might be called "negative."] In our own faiths a much higher form of motivation

Religious

exists in the positive appeals to moral conduct based on idealism and upon identification of one's self with the Power working through things toward a better social order. Service is idealized as one of the noblest forms of human conduct and brotherly love as one of the finest manifestations of the divine in man. A vast potential influence resides in the church for promoting sound public opinion and action regarding the problems we face. Despite institutional abuses of both past and present, from which no institutions have been free, religion is needed by society today as much as ever to perform the services just described; namely, preservation, dissemination, and cultivation of moral truth and ideals, possible creation of better ideals and standards and sanctioning of values in those fields not amenable to scientific substantiation as well as the best ethical thought generally.]

It should be noted that, if the connection between religion and morality is something of the nature of that suggested above, the public schools in a country such as ours face a difficult problem in moral education since they are denied the right to utilize religious sanctions. This has been the ground for much criticism and various proposals to be treated later have been made for meeting this situation. Yet we must beware of allowing ourselves to suppose there is final evidence for believing that moral education cannot be effective apart from religion. All that the material viewed above showed was that the two had been intermingled more frequently than not in higher civilizations. Thus it may be possible to foster morality in public schools without religion although it has not so far been effectively demonstrated.

When we think of religion and social welfare most of us think in terms of our own particular interpretation, the content of the ideals which appeal to us, the character of the beliefs, the symbols which awaken religious emotions within us and the forms of expression we approve. Yet the facts of individual differences have significance here in suggesting that no simple formulation covering these points will be equally valuable to

all, especially lacking in appeal would be the more intellectualized forms of the upper classes or more highly educated.¹ In part, the value of Christianity lies in its flexibility in meeting the needs of different types of men. As Cooley well said, different men require different religious symbols "but these should be educational, leading up from lower forms of thought to higher."² A suggestive summary of this discussion of the social significance of religion is found in a statement of Chapman and Counts: "Students have wondered why it is that in an age of relative abundance, an age toward which men have striven since the beginning of time, men are not content. The answer is simple. Without a faith of some sort, without a faith in which men can believe, men cannot live, men must despair. To be tolerable life must seem significant, and to be significant it must lead to some end felt to be of supreme worth. Though replete with pleasures, unless it gives expression to some purpose, life must remain futile. Without a sense of duty, without the call to worthy achievement, life can contain pleasure but it can afford no happiness. It is because the modern world lacks a faith in which men can believe, rather than because of physical privation, that multitudes of men today despair. Hardship may destroy the body; only the loss of hope can destroy the soul. Why should men live? This question the school must answer through its program."³

Changes in religious faiths were alluded to. There is much partially informed discussion in some circles about present trends in religion in the United States. Because of this state of knowledge or, rather, its lack, and especially because of the educational functions which the church has historically performed, more exact knowledge is needed. To describe comprehensively the changes in religion of recent years would involve drawing heavily upon the coincident industrialization and mechanization of life, the advances of science, rise of the automobile,

¹ Young, K., *op. cit.*, p. 302.

² Cooley, C. H., *op. cit.*, p. 378.

³ Chapman, J. C. and Counts, G. S., *Principles of Education*, Houghton Mifflin, 1924, p. 355. (Quoted by permission.)

growth of intercommunication, amusements and recreation, alterations in the home, urbanization; all those various processes, movements and things which have created a new society within the space of a few generations. Each influences the others and in turn is influenced, and this is true of religion no matter what aspect is under consideration. But in this field the consequent confusion, uncertainty and lack of stability are perhaps greater and possibly leave the present generations with fewer guides than in any other unless in the civic or political.

As seen, personal religion is too variable for analysis so that we must turn to the organizational aspect for an examination of its present condition. The material pertinent for our purposes may be grouped under the headings: vitality and educational functions.

VITALITY OF RELIGION

[The reader should not be misled by the heading into the presumption that an altogether satisfactory appraisal can be made of the place religion occupies in a complex society such as that in the United States. Its functions and significance for the needs of people vary widely from church to church and with diverse persons. Many aspects of its hold upon society cannot be measured and those that can often yield results subject to differences in interpretation. Writers upon the subject do not agree and too often view conditions from the approach of their own group. We turn to samples of such evidence as there is.]

Religious Interests. Attempts have been made in several ways to ascertain the amount of interest in religion. Examination of the circulations of seven Protestant periodicals from 1900 to 1930 showed a small gain, although the 276,000 subscribers for 1930 was well below the 347,000, or better, of 1910 to 1920.¹ A similar study for several large cities of the Atlantic coast disclosed sizable decreases amounting to as much as

¹ Hart, Hornell, "Changing Social Attitudes and Interests," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 389-398.

68 per cent for the Jewish periodicals and 24 per cent for the Protestant. On the other hand, a gain was registered by the Catholic periodicals. If the base for comparison is changed to the proportion of the total circulation of an extended list of periodicals contributed by the Protestant journals, their share is found to be only about one-fifth of that of 1900. The reading interests developed thus far in this country seem to have been directed largely into other channels than the religious.

Other efforts to gauge interest in religion have proceeded with the enumeration of the books and articles published on religious subjects. Of the books indexed in the *U. S. Catalog*, a fluctuating but slightly smaller number have dealt with religion since 1903, the greatest decrease being in those concerned with the Bible itself. Similarly of the articles listed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, a smaller number and proportion treat religious subjects than during previous years. One study showed 21.4 religious articles per thousand articles for 1905-1909 as contrasted with 14.6 per thousand in 1925-1928 when the Fundamentalist controversy was at a high pitch.¹ Much of what attention has been given was found in the *Outlook* and *Independent* before their merger and in the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Literary Digest* and *Forum* since then. One of the most striking changes has been the virtual disappearance of religion from women's magazines. This may be the result of the gigantic expansion in recent years of the fields for the expression of their interests rather than a decline in religious interest, yet a reasonable view would suggest the operation of both factors.

Although far from conclusive, and certainly not to be taken as prognostic of the future, the types of investigations just cited suggest a present decline in religious interest.

Membership and Wealth. Yet if church memberships and wealth were taken as criteria of religious strength quite opposite inferences might be drawn, for the growth of the former has just about kept pace with population increase over a number

¹ Hart, Hornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-412.

of years. Because of variations in bases used for membership and methods of reporting, comparable figures are not as reliable as might be wished. According to the tabulations, however, of the Census of Religious Bodies for 1926 and for each of the two preceding ten year dates, 55 per cent of the population thirteen years and over were members.¹ Since the last religious census, available figures show that the rate of increase has not quite equaled that of the population. Both in absolute numbers and in relation to their respective populations, churches are stronger in the cities, although a marked tendency toward decrease is noted in the largest cities. One reason for the great growth of city churches has been the influx of rural people to the cities and the tendency of those still living on farms to attend in cities and villages. Although the ratio of membership to population is lower in the country, churches are numerically more numerous than any other social institution and also still highly important. In one sample study it was shown that "of the rural and village mothers who had organized contacts, 77 per cent found them in the church" or in some church club.²

It is suggested by some that religion is losing strength through the continued division into separate organizations of which there were 212 at the last religious census. Of these denominations twenty-four included approximately 91 per cent of the nation's church members and only eight had at least one local church in each state. Although the Roman Catholic is the largest single one and the Jewish fourth in size, it is estimated that five out of every eight members thirteen years old and over are Protestant or non-Jewish.

While religion has been maintaining its strength as far as membership goes it has more than done so financially prior to the depression which began in 1929. Between the religious censuses of 1916 and 1926 church contributions increased 150 per cent. Over this period, in which the expenditures of local

¹ Fry, C. L., "Changes in Religious Organization," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 1020-1026.

² White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Adolescent in the Family*, Appleton-Century, 1934, p. 15.

churches is reported to have increased 149 per cent, the entire realized income of the United States is estimated to have risen only 98 per cent.¹ In the twenty years prior to 1926 the value of church edifices more than doubled.

Beliefs and Observances. If attention be shifted to current religious beliefs, attitudes and observances, a note of uncertainty again appears regarding the strength of the church. A large part of institutional religion in this country does center around beliefs and attitudes favorable to the infallibility of the Bible, a personal God, immortality, the possibility of being Divinely guided in life, the sacrosanct character of ministers and religious leaders, a strict moral code and other elements of creed. While there is no way of knowing the extent to which people have given up such beliefs or are indifferent to them, some feel that this number is very large. Since these have been earmarks of institutional religion, their decline would indicate weakness of the latter in the opinion of these observers. Others think the matter has been greatly exaggerated. Almost the only information about the situation consists of scattered straws in the wind, such as pronouncements of church officers and the character of publications on religious themes. The Roman Catholic Church officially still sanctions the faiths mentioned above, but Protestants are not so united, as the controversies of recent years attest. It is reported that among the latter fewer cases of heresy are being pressed and among these there have been still fewer convictions. Ministers openly express themselves as in disagreement with some of the traditional doctrines. It is also pointed out that local churches are less persistent in opposing infringements upon what have been considered morals, as Sunday movies, dancing, attendance at theatricals, the return of the sale of liquor. On the other hand, both ministers and local and regional church bodies have given more attention to questions of social justice, economic abuses, race problems, political questions, peace and war, education.

¹ Landis, B. Y., "The Church and Religious Activity," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (May 1935), p. 782.

Analysis of articles in general magazines to determine what aspects of religion find approval or are criticized would reveal probably at best nothing about the thinking of the non-reading public. Several such studies are reported by Hornell Hart. All of these indicated that traditional beliefs and creeds throughout this century have progressively received less favorable treatment. Instances of approval diminished in numbers while criticism increased somewhat, more especially as might be expected in the "intellectual" magazines. More conservative religious attitudes are seen typified in the characters in the all-fiction magazines than are found in the popular periodicals of opinion like the *Saturday Evening Post*. Somewhat offsetting this declining approval of organized Christianity as expressed in periodicals is the frequency of treatment of other religious topics, which shows them to have a great hold upon the interest of the reading public. Among these are: the nature of religion, God, personal religious experience through prayer, worship or service, religion and morals, etc. As far as the reading public goes then it would seem that there is a greater or lesser uncertainty concerning specific beliefs and the religious sanctions heretofore appealed to in the control of conduct.

If a measure of the esteem which people have for organized religion be sought in practices and observances the result is disappointing, for the data are meager. It will be recalled, however, that sampling studies of children show that only about a third were from homes where grace was said at meals while merely a fifth of those in rural regions, and fewer in the cities, participated in family prayers and Bible reading. The percentages reporting complete absence of any of these activities or also of attendance at church during the preceding month are 40.4 for urban American whites, 30.9 for small city American whites, 26.0 for rural American whites, 39.1 for Italians and 60.9 for Russian Jewish.

For that religious body, Congregational and Christian Churches, recognized as having for years kept adequate records for church attendance it was reported that in one thousand

local churches having an average membership of 322 persons and an average seating capacity of 370 per service, the average Sunday morning attendance in 1933 had been 117 persons (approximately the same average as during the preceding three years). Its Commission on Church Attendance in its 1934 report said that figures indicated that 70 per cent of the seats on Sunday mornings were not being occupied and that probably 75 per cent of the persons known as members did not support the program through active encouragement or attendance.¹

The considerations of this section raise doubts not so much about the existence of interest in religion as about interest in and satisfaction derived from some of its institutional aspects. Indications of change in the latter, such as diminished doctrinal emphases, development of social program, efforts at church unity, bespeak a susceptibility to the new demands which may strengthen its influence.

Teaching Function. The influence of the church has diminished very little if any, if the mere numbers coming under its religious instruction be any criterion. Leaving out of account any efforts to supply religious education along with general education, as in parochial schools, the introduction of religious material in the public schools, or in week-day schools, there remain Sunday schools, vacation Bible schools and religious clubs.

Matters of religious education have received much study during recent decades, and growing out of this have come curricular changes, emphases upon training of teachers and of careful organization new in the field. Meantime, the existing agency, the Sunday school, enjoyed steady growth of enrollment at a rate somewhat paralleling that of the public schools. At the time of the last religious census in 1926 denominational Sunday schools were reported by 185,000 churches which constituted a large majority of all Sunday schools. Since the census of 1906 the enrollments have increased from a total of 14,686,000

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 783.

to approximately 21,000,000 for a gain of 45 per cent. The expansion during the early part of this period was far greater than during the decade of war and post-war years. One large body, the Roman Catholic, actually showed a decline in enrollment but this is explained in part by a change in the method of reporting figures and in part by the Church's emphasis upon parochial schools rather than upon Sunday schools. Only 17 per cent of the Jewish congregations reported schools.

Coming into prominence since the war is the vacation Bible or church school. Sessions are held during the summer for varying periods under the sponsorship of a single church or through union effort. Between 1925 and 1930 the number of such schools conducted by sixteen Protestant denominations more than tripled, reaching 9,756, while Catholics reported around 1,000.¹ Although attention is usually devoted in these schools to other things than the more strictly religious or Biblical these elements are emphasized. A third type of vehicle for religious instruction is the church society for young people. Differences are found between denominations and, in different sections of the country and from year to year, in the vitality of these societies. Comparative figures of significance are, therefore, meager, but wide-spread growth in numbers and enrollments is recognized.

An imponderable in this record of growth is the real religious gain. Despite the reception by large numbers of religious instruction through one or another of these agencies, there remain the uncertainty and unrest previously noted. It is impossible to estimate how satisfying to religious needs the instruction has been or how valuable in providing controls for conduct although the work of Hartshorne and May on deceit suggest the latter question may not be an empty one. It would seem a reasonable inference that some of this instruction has been abortive because of religious changes, the decline of authoritarianism and the questioning of traditional sanctions. These limitations are recognized by many church people and efforts

¹ Fry, C. L., *op. cit.*, p. 1035.

individual and social needs for religion which were discussed in a previous section and maintain that general education must concern itself with these. There are, however, many differences in the viewpoints of these persons. Others feel that the separation of religion and education is the only feasible way of maintaining a public school system in this country but that there should be genuine concern for character education. Some of these proposals are now to be considered briefly.

CURRENT PROPOSALS

The Parochial School. Some religious bodies, of which the largest is the Roman Catholic Church, are convinced that religion is an integral part of true education and anything short of that, unsatisfactory. They feel that a school system which ignores religion is actually creating irreligion. Many of this view point out that homes affected by the uncertainties of the day as well as pre-occupied in practical affairs are not to be expected to give adequate religious instruction, and that a period once a week in Sunday school ill-suffices. Nothing else then remains (with the possible exception of week-day instruction) except for the church to provide schools which will not only satisfy the demands of the state but achieve the religious objectives as well.

The position of the Roman Catholic Church was enunciated in 1930 in the *Encyclical on Education* of Pope Pius XI. The following sentences indicate the point of view: "From this follows that the so-called neutral or lay schools from which religion is excluded are contrary to the fundamental principles of education. Besides, such schools are not practically possible, since in actual fact they soon become anti-religious. There is no need to repeat what our predecessors have said on this subject, notably Pius IX, and Leo XIII, in whose times particularly lay instruction in schools began. We repeat and confirm their declarations, together with the prescriptions of the sacred canons by which attendance at non-Catholic, neutral or mixed schools or of schools, that is to say, indifferently open to Catho-

lies and non-Catholics without distinction, is forbidden to Catholic children and can only be tolerated at the discretion of bishops in special circumstances of place and time and under special precautions. . . . For a school to be considered it is necessary that the whole teaching and organization of the school, namely the teachers, the curriculum and the books, be governed by the Christian spirit under the maternal direction and vigilance of the church. [That religion should be really the foundation and crown of all instruction in all grades not only in elementary but also in all others.] 'It is necessary,' to adopt the words of Leo XIII, 'that not only in specified hours the young shall be taught religion but that all the rest of the education be performed with Christian piety.' " ¹

The strength of some such viewpoint is indicated by the growth, both in numbers and in enrollments, of parochial schools in recent years. In the U.S. Office of Education's *Biennial Survey of Education for 1928-1930*, were given figures for the growth of denominational secondary schools since 1895. In that year 910 such schools were recorded with 52,441 students enrolled, while by 1930 the number of schools had risen to 2,166 with a total of 254,068 pupils. Of this number, 1,648 were Catholic schools; 97, Episcopal; 77, Methodist; 74, Seventh-Day Adventist; 71, Presbyterian; etc. Comparable figures at the elementary level are not available, but in 1928 of the 2,234,999 pupils in parochial schools, 2,195,569, or 98.2 per cent, were Catholic.² The gain in enrollment in the schools of this church since 1926 was over 80,000.

There are many who feel that there is an inevitable conflict between the interests of these schools and those of the democratic state with its need of integration and unity. Some of such, however, are not satisfied that no formal religious instruction be given children and frequently are found in the ranks of those supporting one of the next type of plans.

¹ From the text of the Encyclical in *The Boston Herald*, January 19, 1930, p. 31. (Quoted by permission of the New York Times Company.)

² Judd, C. H., "Education," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 376.

Week-Day Religious Instruction. It should be noted, in passing, that many individuals think that in the schools of a so-called Christian nation at least the Bible should be read. This has been a matter of controversy since the beginning of our public schools. Denominational preferences for translations differ. How ineffective as a real means of religious instruction this is regarded in some quarters is seen in the failure of the ministers of several of the large Protestant denominations of a certain state to support a law recently proposed there making it legal. Nevertheless, between 1900 and 1930, ten states, following the earlier lead of Massachusetts, made daily reading compulsory, although it was not to be accompanied by comments by the teachers and pupils might be excused by their parents in most cases. In six other states laws specifically permitted Bible reading, while in twelve it was generally regarded as illegal in 1930. In the remainder there was no legislation touching the matter and it was considered permissible.¹

The limitations of such reading and the briefness of the contact with church influence except for those pupils in parochial schools, the fact that many children have no contact at all, have led to the suggestion in recent years that children be released during public school hours for religious instruction under the supervision of church authorities. Although only seven states in 1933 were reported as having specific permissive legislation, a survey of the practice in cities of 2,500 and over for that year revealed the release of school children in 218 cities and towns in 35 states.² The number of instances in which religious instruction was conducted outside of school hours was not covered in the survey. Parents, however, have found the latter plan unsatisfactory both because of the difficulty of getting their children to attend classes held during out-of-school hours and because of the additional time taken from the child's day. These

¹ Keeseker, W. W., *Legal Status of Bible Reading and Religious Instruction in Public Schools*, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 14, 1930.

² Davis, M. D., *Week-Day Religious Instruction*, U. S. Office of Education Pamphlet No. 36, 1933.

facts have lent added force to their contention that pupils should be released during the school day.

Because the practice is so new in this country, having been first organized in Gary, Indiana, in 1913, variations in procedure are common. The more usual features, however, are likely to include the following: Class meetings for the regular length school period are held once a week throughout the greater part of the year. The pupils most frequently excused are those of the upper elementary grades. In the majority of cases the instruction is given in neighboring churches or church-provided quarters by teachers representing these organizations. Often these are ministers. The work is carried on either independently by individual churches or through a cooperative council, the churches being responsible for appointing and paying teachers and providing places for meeting. Under the first arrangement the classes are conducted separately by the respective churches for their own parishioners. Under the second, inter-denominational courses are frequently worked out and maintained cooperatively. In most cases attendance is made completely voluntary, although there may be the expectation that pupils will attend. Varying programs are reported for occupying the time of children not attending, such as regular class work, supervised study, activities, etc. For the sake of being more concrete two cases will be briefly given.

The plan in operation at Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1931 is described by the chairman of the cooperative Bible Study Committee in a pamphlet entitled *The Bible in the Public Schools*. In essence it is: "An elective course of Bible Study five times a week in Senior High, twice a week in Junior High, once a week in elementary schools (4th to 6th grades), in school buildings, during school hours, as a regular course in the curriculum, with grades sent parents on school reports and full credit for graduation and college entrance, taught by teachers selected by a Bible Study Committee whose members are appointed by Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Pastors' Association, Parent-Teachers' Association, and Superintendent of Public Schools, with teach-

ers' salaries paid outside of school tax money, from funds contributed by churches and individuals and in approximately the same amount as other teachers receive with course of study planned by the Bible Study Committee, but with teachers' scholarship-standards and discipline subject to Principals and Superintendent, as in case of other teachers."

In this the ninth year of operation all elementary children above the fourth grade, 85 per cent of the junior high and over 50 per cent of the senior high school pupils elected the courses. All material is drawn directly from the Bible and approximately thirty of the city's fifty churches were cooperating through the Committee.

[Week-day religious study was inaugurated in 1932 in a Kentucky town, Carlisle, by having the four Protestant ministers and the Catholic priest draw up an "identical course of study" comprising these topics: content and nature of the Bible, classification of the books of the Bible, the Bible as one book, Old Testament and the prophets, the chosen people, Christ the revelation of God, the Church—what it is, the meaning of Calvary.] Classes met once a week during the second semester and under a rather unusual arrangement the grade made counted one-fifth of the semester mark in English. With the exception of two Jewish children all pupils in grades seven to twelve inclusive were thus enrolled, each child attending the class of his own denominational preference. In 1933 much the same plan was followed save that no marks were given and the material studied in that year was "The Life of Christ." Some have criticized such a plan on the grounds that it emphasizes among children sectarian differences which are already too pronounced among adults. The testimony as to the results at Carlisle does not support this view for it was reported that, "One benefit resulting from the course was the removal of narrow religious and sectarian prejudice common to a small town. This fact was as true of the community as a whole as of the student body."¹

¹ Tolbert, N. E., "A Course in Religious Education in the Carlisle High School," *Kentucky School Journal*, 12 (October 1933), p. 47.

Curricular Religious Instruction. Others who believe religious instruction vital may not be satisfied with either the parochial school or week-day class plans. Neither reach more than a minority of youth except in rare situations. In the 1933 survey of week-day religious instruction only 38 per cent of the children enrolled in the elementary grades from which pupils were released in 145 cities were attending the classes in religion. In the high schools of 35 cities answering the question, only 29 per cent of the pupils attended religious instruction. And, of the 2,043 systems reporting, only 10.7 per cent followed the practice of releasing pupils. Obviously some other arrangement is needed if it be thought that religious instruction is an essential part of education. It should be recalled that additional support for the latter view comes from the value of religious sanctions in enforcing the moral code. It is pointed out that there is reason to believe a character education program is more successful if religion be a part of it.

[From this point of view the solution is said to lie in the working out of basic religious beliefs and principles to which all could subscribe and making them a regular part of the required curriculum. Such a unit would, by virtue of its derivation from the elements upon which there was agreement, emphasize the things which would draw people together. This approach would therefore offer possibilities of counteracting the historical ill effects of sectarian differences and minimize intolerance. Further, since the pupils' experiences with these fundamental truths would be somewhat removed from the familiar formal observances and customary institutional associations, there would be a hope of their being more real and vital to them. Thus this approach might even help combat the deadening influence of formalism in religion.]

Of course, the critical difficulty with the proposal for curricular religious instruction is devising a unit upon which agreement could be secured. There is no reason to minimize the magnitude of this problem, although this should not deter effort if it is the proper course of action. A few years ago two serious students of

education advocating just such a plan proposed the following as some of "those basic and relatively non-contentious elements which the great religions hold in common": faith in a power working through the universe for righteousness, "faith in the benevolence of the cosmic order toward those who seek to understand and conform to its laws," "a life long wonder in the presence of the marvelous manifestations of life and nature," a certainty that men's feelings, efforts and aspirations count in making the world better, "a faith that righteous conduct is the finest product of the universe," "a sense of membership in a universal brotherhood of men," "a firm resolve to live in accord with that purpose which moves through the universe to fulfillment," a willingness to sacrifice for the general good, a trust in the future beyond the grave, etc.¹

Although these fundamentals were suggested over a decade ago the prospects today seem no brighter than formerly of securing any general agreement of the churches for their teaching. Here and there, as at Carlisle, local conditions may make some such program, or a better one, feasible. For the majority of our larger communities, if week-day religious instruction cannot be inaugurated and extended, the school authorities can and probably should do little in a religious direction curricularly. There remains, however, another course of action, character education, about which educators have talked for years, though it is still on an experimental level.

Character Education. Recognizing the need of greater attention and more informed thinking in regard to character education, two of the departments of the National Education Association, the Department of Superintendence and the Department of Classroom Teachers devoted yearbooks to its study in 1932. These served to give publicity to the very recent body of research work on the subject and call attention to its still largely unfathomed nature. Formal study of principles of conduct, manners and morals, which was found in some schools early in

¹ Chapman, J. C. and Counts, G. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 363. (Quoted by permission.)

the last century, had died of its own half-heartedness before the renewed interest in moral education made its appearance just previous to the turn of the century.]

[The programs of modern schools which attempt anything positive fall generally into two categories: those which emphasize understanding of the moral virtues, ideals and principles; and those which emphasize moral education through specific and concrete experiences and situations in which the life of the child takes him. Without doing great injustice to either of these types of procedure or their variations it may be said that there is as yet little real evidence of their degree of effectiveness.] How difficult the problems ahead are may be seen through consideration of the thinking in regard to the nature of character and of the difficulties which confront efforts of the school.

Concerning the former, the nature of character, there are wide variations of opinion. With some, character and personality are viewed as synonymous. Others think of character as pertaining only to that part of the personality expressed in their important relations with their fellows. The word is often associated with the person's inhibitions. Disagreement is found in whether its reference is to what the person is or what he does; whether character consists of an aggregate of specific habits and attitudes or of generalized tendencies with respect to traits and ideals; whether conformity to group patterns or expression of individuality is the more indicative of character. [The Department of Superintendence *Tenth Yearbook* previously referred to cuts the gordian knot of definition by saying that the criterion of character is "the Integration of Values; Doing the Best Possible Thing in Each Situation."]

Out of the clash of opinion evidence touching certain aspects of the nature of character is appearing. Although development is the result of both heredity and environment there is reason for thinking that environment is far more important in determining both trends of conduct and the ideals valued. There are reasons for thinking that both specific habits and generalized traits and ideals constitute character, and that, therefore, the latter

must be recognized as having both outward and inward expression.

[The difficulties of the school in providing character education are manifold, starting with the fundamental one just treated—the inability to be sure specifically of the nature of character. As a consequence of this various goals of character education ~~as~~ have been set up but no standards have existed by which they could be evaluated except by the concept of the particular author involved. Another complication arises out of the fact that other agencies such as the home, friends and associates are shown by research to be more influential in character formation than the school.] Beyond these is a still wider range of forces such as the radio, movies, and religious groups. Whatever the school might do may be reinforced or nullified by these other more powerful influences. In a way, it appears that too much faith in the possibilities of the school would not be justified, but, since no nationwide attempt has been made to so use them, no predictions can be valid. The differences between the pupils themselves are another limitation.

To these must be added the current general perplexity or uncertainty regarding the patterns of moral conduct desirable. Usually the adult population allows itself more liberty in its skepticism in such matters than it permits to the schools and pupils. The latter are expected to continue to uphold the older and more conservative views of morality. Thus in times of rapid change the gulf between what the schools are expected to propagate and the ideas of the general public is reflected in the tendency of the pupils to question both and experiment for themselves. Until there is more stability in moral and ethical thought schools face a rather impossible task and the best results of which they are capable cannot be expected.

[Awaiting greater knowledge, thinking in the field of character education is tending in the direction of utilizing the values of situations connected with the entire school program. This does not imply a laissez-faire attitude but, rather, positive and definite efforts to provide through the regular classes, the extra-

class activities, counseling and every other aspect of the life of the school, practice for pupils in right living. It is felt that through specific situations rather than through precept pupils will come both to understand the meaning of moral conduct and to develop emotional attitudes favorable to it. But it should also be recognized that with all pupils, and increasingly as they mature, there should be efforts made to have them generalize their learnings from these specific situations. This does not mean having a separate class designated "character education" but does call for at least some discussion of the moral and social issues growing out of previous experience or learning, and for making favorable associations with ideals. Acceptance of this view implies that the program will work out the utilization of both indirect and direct methods of instruction.]

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Remarking on the permanence of a trait once it becomes part of a culture, Kirkpatrick says "the ancient prayer for protection against the fury of the Northmen continues down to recent times." Can you cite the survival of some such element of religious practice or belief?
2. Some psychologists suggest that the reason children rise so quickly from defeat and are not discouraged for long when thwarted is that they believe their parents stand behind them and do or can control events which get out of hand. This confidence in the support of their parents gives them the needed encouragement to try again. Is it possible that through religion adults can derive similar strength for continued effort?
3. What can be said in regard to a prevalent assertion among college students that religion is purely an individual and private matter?
4. Is organized religion of such a nature that its destruction would be desirable if possible?
5. Writing in *The Educational Record* for July 1935, W. F. Ogburn said: "As a teacher of social science I should be very much interested in seeing religious fervor in another field than social science. But I fear some kind of social religion will soon be on us. The reason will be because the personality needs it." Are there any factors in the present religious situation which suggest that Ogburn's expectations may be

realized? On what grounds can it be contended that the personality needs religion?

6. Throughout the state of Kentucky many newspapers join forces once a year with religious bodies to secure general Sunday school attendance on a Sunday in May of persons who ordinarily do not go. In reference to this in 1935 an editor in a town of 10,000 said: "Tomorrow is 'Go to Sunday School Day' in Kentucky, and the Sunday Schools in . . . and . . . County, as usual on this day, will be filled with many persons who believe in the Sunday School. Many of them will be persons who haven't been to Sunday School since this time last year, but that is all right, as everybody should support a worthy movement like this. . . . Don't fail to attend Sunday School on Go to Sunday School Day." Officials were asked to report their attendance figures to the paper for publication in the Monday edition. What is the value of such a plan? Can you suggest a better? What part should the public schools play in the plan?

7. Can a high form of morality exist apart from religion? Does it usually do so?

8. What evidence can you cite that any one of the Christian denominations provides for different levels of culture and intellectuality in a way which allows different men to have different religious symbols, as Cooley termed it?

9. Look up the United States Supreme Court's decision on the constitutionality of the law passed in Oregon in 1922 which provided that after 1926 all parents must send their children to the public schools of the state. What implication does this decision suggest as to the relative prerogatives of the state and the family over the education of the child? Is this consonant with our democratic theory of a state supported school system or not?

10. One plan for religion in education proposed by Archbishop John Ireland in an address before the National Education Association in 1890 would operate as follows: "I would permeate the regular state school with the religion of the majority of the children of the land, be it as Protestant as Protestantism can be, and I would, as they do in England, pay for the secular instruction given in denominational schools according to results; that is, each pupil passing the examination before state officials, and in full accordance with the state program, would secure to his school the cost of the tuition of a pupil in the state school. This is not paying for the religious instruction given to the pupil, but

for the secular instruction demanded by the state, and given to the pupil as thoroughly as he could have received it in the state school." What are the relative merits of such a plan and how practicable would it be in this country?

11. Has a plan of week-day religious instruction been considered or put into operation in your home community? If adopted what are the features of the plan? Carefully evaluate it.

12. Secure if possible an outline or program for a course in character education. Judging from the outline, what theory of the nature of character is assumed? How satisfactory are the means and methods which are employed?

13. What is the extent of the practice of allowing high school credit for Bible study? Under whose sponsorship are the courses, the school or outside agencies? What merits do the various types of plans have?

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CHAPTER IX

THE SCHOOL'S COMMUNITY

One of the forms used by the teacher placement bureau of a large mid-western university requires the candidate to indicate the approximate size of the "place in which (the) largest portion of (his) life was spent," by checking one of the following five blanks: city of 50,000 or more; 8-49,000; 2-7,000; under 2,000; country. If reflectively inclined the prospect is likely to experience some curiosity as to the significance of his previous habitat for the process of teacher placement. If he is inclined toward the critical he may question the existence of valid distinctions between all places of the specified sizes or the use of size itself as an index of community differences. These queries may be resolved into two questions on which information is needed. What is the importance of the community in human relations? How do communities differ? The work of the school is directly affected by the factors involved.

THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY

The term "community" is one which had various usages before the time sociologists began to employ it in a more technical sense. It had had communistic connotations and was applied to such groups as that established by Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana, that by J. H. Noyes at Putney, Vermont, later Oneida Community, or those of the various Shaker settlements. Then there was the current meaning it had as applied to a body of people living within a small geographical area or within a local political unit, such as a municipality. It is in the latter sense that most persons conceive the term today. But to see in it no other significance than that of a convenient term for a given locality is to miss much of what "community" should connote.

Sociological Significance. So influential in the formation of the nature of the individual may the local community be that C. H. Cooley proposed classifying it as a primary social group. This called attention to the part of the community in socialization and led to studies of the interplay of relationships, associations, the interests and activities of people. In the sociological sense a group of people do not constitute a community unless they are to a degree interrelated in their institutional participation, share to some extent the life and interests common to all, have some consciousness of their community of interest. All of this means that a large proportion of the contacts between people would be personal and direct, although there would also be indirect relationships as well. The community would embrace a number of the institutional organizations such as the church, school, stores, express office, bank, places of amusement, etc. In fact, the aspects of institutional activity discussed in the preceding chapters constitute the life of the community and are in it coordinated and interrelated. Both harmony and conflict of interest occur.

The reader should not infer that sociologists are in complete agreement in their statements of the essential nature of the community for such is not the case. Bernard, for instance, suggests that a plausible definition might well be one in which common relationships are basic, although he regards as more usually accepted the view that "the community is that area in which direct contacts or face-to-face associations are easily and commonly made."¹ Eldridge agrees to the usefulness of localizing the relationships to a given area and group of people but cautions that "the term *community* applies not only to restricted urban and rural areas, but to any larger area over which there may be an interdependence of individual and group interests."² Kinneman accepts the latter concept and gives it great emphasis with his illustrations of international commercial communities centering in London and New York, of nation-wide communities

¹ Davis, J., Barnes and Others, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

² *Ibid.*, p. 671.

interested in wheat or oysters with Chicago and Baltimore as their respective centers. Finally, he concludes, "every person is a member of many communities. In only the most general sense may he be limited to one community. . . ." ¹

Others, especially rural sociologists, question this position and regard as an element of the essence of the community its relation to a local area. From this standpoint a person can only be a member of one community though he may have interests reaching far beyond it. As Sanderson says, "Human association cannot occur merely as a psychological relationship so long as men have bodies and live on land." ² Hoffer makes the occupying of a territorial area part of the concept, saying, "If the idea of a definite location be dropped entirely, the concept of community loses its identity and meaning. It then becomes identical to a public." ³ He, like Sanderson, however, admits that the drawing of a line which with exactitude will bound a community is difficult.

From the pros and cons of these points of view the reader will see that the importance of the community as a sociological unit lies in the services its institutions provide and in the direct sharing in this institutional life by a somewhat localized group of people from which flows the psychological influence on personality. McClenahan suggests as a composite definition the following: "A community is a social unit with certain territorial boundaries, perhaps definitely established, more probably, unconsciously defined by certain psychological factors such as common interests, attitudes, values, customs, laws, and institutions; possessing a degree of functioning unity, and comparatively self-sufficing." ⁴

While from other standpoints the community may well be thought of as extending wherever people have common relation-

¹ Kinneman, J. A., *Society and Education*, Macmillan, 1932, p. 322.

² Sanderson, D., *The Rural Community*, Ginn, 1932, p. 598.

³ Hoffer, C. R., "Understanding the Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 36 (January 1931), p. 617.

⁴ Payne, E. G., *Readings in Educational Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, 1932, Vol. I, p. 300.

ships, from the standpoint of the school the more localized concept is the more helpful for many of the important concerns of the public schools are local. Although the indirect relationships of schools may be extensive, their direct contacts cover rather limited areas. For these reasons, it will be profitable to consider somewhat the geographical aspect of community.

The Community Geographically. As already suggested, if participation in one institutional service or activity alone is considered it would be impossible to regard the people thus concerned as a community. There must be the sharing in several institutions with their augmented number of personal contacts, although it is not to be implied that all of the same identical persons will be involved in each case, though many or the majority may be. And because of this lack of one hundred per cent participation by all people the boundary of the community will be difficult to trace. For example says Good: "If in a certain political area the residents have contacts in connection with the state, such as payment of taxes, campaigns for election, and courts, but have their religious, business, recreational, and educational activities divided among various political and geographical areas, the original political community will not be a sociological community."¹

Although determination of community lines may be difficult, several techniques exist by which the most important part of the community area may be mapped. For less densely populated areas a modification of a method used by C. J. Galpin serves very well. Each home is located in the area to be studied and the institutions (religious, educational, etc.) with which that home is connected are ascertained. This information is plotted on a map and lines are drawn from each home to the institutions. Thus are located simultaneously the centers of community interest and the periphery of their spheres of influence. The most frequent face-to-face contacts lie within these spheres. There would, of course, be some overlapping of community lines.

¹ Good, A., *op. cit.*, p. 222.

This method may be of assistance in deciding upon the proper location for a consolidated school or in determining the boundaries of an enlarged school district. More will be said of this in the next chapter. In the case of densely populated areas the Bureau of Census has suggested that the metropolitan district might properly be mapped on the basis of such factors as the following: areas from which not less than 10 per cent of the working population commute daily, territory served by the central city's power, light, phone, water and sewer systems, areas served by the city newspapers' own delivery boys, areas covered by the daily routes of solicitors, inspectors and collectors operating out of the central city, etc.

The point is that whatever the technique used the area of shared common life does have a geographical location and the extent of the sharing is highest toward the center. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the community is more than the sum of the people congregated in the given geographical area, in that there is consciousness of unity of purposes and of identity of interests, but these ordinarily develop where people live in contiguity and are continuously thrown into personal contact in seeking institutional satisfactions.

In view of both the sociological and geographical requirements the question may be raised as to the relation between the number of people with their institutions within a given area and the necessary conditions for the existence of a community. The smallest groupings, consisting of an aggregation of houses and served by a minimum number of institutions such as a school and store, possibly also a church, do not attain to community status and are designated "neighborhoods." They are not self-sufficient; they are not big enough to contain many of their own centers of interest; and there can be little consciousness of unity or many of the other psychological characteristics. But, within their narrow range of institutional life and because of their intimacy, the contacts may be very personal and influential in their control of individual thought and conduct. The student will recognize that this is more likely to be true of neighborhoods

in the open country and small towns than of their namesakes in cities. So then "the neighborhood is predominantly geographic and is based mainly on proximity, while the community is primarily functional and is based on the pursuit of similar or related ends by people who have relatively easy and direct contacts with each other."¹

If neighborhoods are too lacking in self-sufficiency and psychological characteristics to be considered communities, is it possible for cities to be too large and complex? The larger the community, the greater the number of indirect contacts, and a point is eventually reached where regular occurrence of primary face-to-face relations on any considerable scale largely ceases. At this point the city ceases to function as a sociological community as far as its inhabitants go and there is lost a valuable factor for their socialization. In community association are gratified the human wishes for recognition and for response; in it and its institutions the individual learns the standards of conduct, attitudes and thoughts of the people with whom he will live. In the absence of these direct associations he is thrown more upon his own unguided desires and what the family and the school can do for him. It was the local community that Cooley considered a primary institution, not the modern city.

Public Schools. The public school has relations with all of these types of local groups. It will always be found serving a rather definite geographical area which also frequently is a political unit. The area may have one institution or many, it may be densely or sparsely settled, and it may or may not be a community in the sociological sense. Each situation has its own import for the work of the school.

BACKGROUNDS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

An understanding of community functioning today depends upon more than acquaintance with the factors of contemporary life, as complex as these are: For local groups of whatever size

¹ Davis, J., Barnes and Others, *op. cit.*, p. 673.

and psychological characteristics are evolving affairs, each being a product of both its own especial antecedence and that of the region surrounding it. Distinguishing customs, modes of thinking, mental sets, institutional patterns, habits of cooperation and of conflict, emotional attitudes, etc., in many cases have long histories. They become a part of the personality of the "home town teacher" and guide his contacts with the various elements of the community. The teacher from outside may not only lack these particular traits but if he comes from a radically different type of community may find himself in conflict with them. Either type of teacher becomes more effective when he has an acquaintance with such factors in the life of the community, and an intelligent, even appreciative, understanding tends to develop as he discovers the backgrounds from which they sprang. Obviously these vary with different communities but, by way of illustrating the regional background factors influential upon community development in their respective areas, three examples are given. They are New England, the South and the North Central States.

New England. According to the last census, of that portion of the New England population classed as rural only 30 per cent lived on farms, while for the same group in the South Atlantic States 58 per cent were on farms. Why such a difference? In the case of New England, a central element in community structure is an inheritance from the early settlers. These people, accustomed as they were to the village community of England, set up many of its characteristic features or their modifications over here. The traditional custom of locating the dwellings in a central village found additional sanction in the better protection it afforded from Indian attacks. To a great extent new settlements were made by small groups of people or families either from older settlements or directly from England. Like religious beliefs made it possible for religion to be a village institution or at least to unite the controlling families of the settlements. Rhode Island was the only conspicuous

instance of separation of civil and religious affairs and community life there was equally conspicuously weak. It was customary for the colonial governments to grant land for a new town to an approved group of men who would select the site for the village and assign property to settlers. The latter built their houses in the village and farmed outlying lands which often were not in continuous tracts but fragmented just as in the European village communities. The size of the town grants varied, the earlier town frequently being large and later subdivided as new towns were formed, but a rather customary size approximated a square roughly six miles on each side.¹ A piece of land, meadow or wooded, was reserved for the common use of all residents in the grazing of cattle or gathering of wood. Frequently the houses were built about the "commons" and remain so to this day wherever New Englanders have established settlements. The control of the community over the individual during the early years is shown by the fact that the foreign practice of determination of the seasons for planting and a system of crop rotation by town vote were introduced into the New England settlements.² This outlines some of the principal features in New England of the pattern of the village community and it is obvious that they were communities in the sociological sense as well as in the geographical. Their personal contacts were so influential in molding personality that the Puritan stamp of mind has become a byword for certain tendencies.

With the establishment of security from attack, increase in population, the breakdown of some of the village controls, the operation of the system of private inheritance of land, the blocking out of new townships by the colonial governments in advance of the appearance of groups asking for grants and the cheapness of land, there were inducements for the more hardy, dissatisfied or adventurous individuals to move away from the villages and settle in groups of two or three or on isolated farms.

¹ Turner, F. J., *The Frontier in American History*, Holt, 1920, pp. 74-75.

² Sanderson, Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

Thus there slowly evolved what has been variously called the "modern rural community" or the "cumulative community" with its farmers living on separate farms outside of a village, which is the business and institutional center of the community, but with the added feature in this region of the whole being united into a civil and political unit, the township. It is also recognized that climatic factors and conditions of soil and topography played their part in this evolution.

With industrialization mills located in many small towns and villages thus modifying the rural community life as farmers and members of their families became workers, or new factory hands were imported. Some of the industrial centers prospered and have become the present cities. Finally filtering into both the rural and the urban areas came an enlarging stream of immigrants from across the northern border, from Ireland and from central Europe, each with their different cultures. Consequently New England community life is a composite of many such elements recent and old, such as agriculture and industry, native and foreign cultures, village form of settlement unified with open country of the townships, and complex psychological characteristics derived from all.

The South. Life in the colonial South took another form and present community organization in part reflects the difference. Land in the tidewater belt was acquired in large tracts by those of means and position and for long, inheritance by the rule of primogeniture served to keep these estates intact. Economically this was to the advantage of the owner, as topography, climate, indentured servants and slaves made profitable the plantation culture of tobacco, rice, indigo and the cotton which was introduced later. Farther inland smaller individual holdings were the rule; really large plantations did not develop until after 1800. The result was a scattering of population quite different from the compact New England settlements. Religion, which constituted one of the village community bonds in both England and New England did not so function in this region,

even though the Church of England was legally established in Maryland, Virginia, etc. It is true that its parish form of local organization with civil and religious functions was introduced, but parishes were large and concerned to such an extent with the interests of the upper class that they did not become the nuclei of community organization. The more energetic but landless whites who saw no opportunity for advancement under the increasingly aristocratic regime moved out into the frontier as there was opportunity and took up holdings for themselves. Also parts of the interior were settled by the equally individualistic and independent immigrants of the Scotch Irish type who came down from Pennsylvania with the desire to own their own farms.

At first some of the early settlements in Tennessee, Kentucky and farther southwest were in the form of fortified villages containing the block-houses and log cabins from which the settlers ventured to farm their own individual clearings. Such villages might even be granted "common lands" as in certain cases in Kentucky in which the Virginia Legislature allowed each six hundred and forty acres to be the common property of the townsmen until an equitable division could be made.¹ But within a few years as the growing population and military superiority gave security families settled in their isolated clearings to lead their own lives in far greater proportions than in the small villages. Towns and cities were slow to appear and grow and "efforts to legislate towns into existence in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia failed."² Time passed, the population grew, but living continued either to be organized for the most part upon large estates or on scattered farms with such institutions as churches, schools and stores often located in the open country.

With the breaking up of many of the large land holdings and abolition of slavery with the Civil War two of the conditions retarding the growth of community organization disappeared,

¹ Roosevelt, T., *The Winning of the West*, Putnam's Sons, 1889, Vol. II, p. 93.

² Turner, F. J., *op. cit.*, p. 125.

but the negro population in some states was of such large proportions that under the existing economic system adequate support of community institutions was difficult. Conditions vary greatly in different sections of what is roughly called the South but in the opinion of rural sociologists even yet considerable areas outside the cities have little but neighborhood types of organization and lack those relationships which mark the sociological community.¹ On the other hand, the relatively recent industrialization which has taken place in many of the cities and towns otherwise distinctly agricultural, added to the complexity within these municipalities.

North Central States. At the last census 66.4 and 41.8 per cent of the people of the East North Central and West North Central regions respectively were living in towns of 2,500 or larger while of the rural populations 47.3 and 34.5 per cent were not living on farms in their respective areas. Thus in the former and older of the two regions urbanization has proceeded to the point where four-fifths of the inhabitants are living in villages, towns and cities, many of which are not so large as to preclude the socializing contacts of true community life. Since very small towns under the laws of certain of these states may incorporate and do so, large sections of the rural population outside are excluded from participation in an important aspect—the self-governing of the life of these places—and must look to the township for it. The township, however, is greatly restricted in its powers and is often little more than an election district, which means there is no adequate local government, and prevents the "mass of the rural population from having any personal experience in the affairs of government, so essential to their intelligent exercise of the suffrage in affairs of county, state and nation."²

This is even more true in the states to the westward, and, it is to be observed, is just the reverse of the New England situation where people of the precinct and the outlying rural area

¹ Sanderson, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 500-501.

² *Ibid.*, p. 520.

of the same township gather at the same center to discuss matters of government and politics. In the Middle West, however, people living outside incorporated areas, although excluded from such aspects of their community life, may yet be identified with them because of other phases of their influence, or again may use them as centers for business or other institutional service. Thus some community life is coming into being or is well advanced for both rural and urban families of the North Central States, the lesser advance being shown in the western part of the region.

With the western territory surveyed into townships after the New England model and with land in each set aside for schools, as was customary in New England, it was apparently the expectation that similar village community life would come into existence. Furthermore, many of the settlers of the northern half of the central area were New Englanders by birth or extraction. Here and there they did re-create their communal institutional life, but more usually located on dispersed farms for which there was sufficient protection even for the earliest of the successive waves of migration which spread westward. Moreover, the large proportion of Southern, New York and Pennsylvania settlers, with their strong individualistic tendencies, and of the more restless souls from every section, were predisposed toward scattered dwellings,¹ and the villages which grew up where trails crossed or streams were intersected, at county seats, railroad stations or similar places, ministered at first largely only to their business interests.

There was no united township action with regard to education, for such a scattered population would make one school seem inadequate and a smaller unit, the district, was conceded to be a better size for attendance and support. The growth of a number of school districts promoted the formation of as many neighborhood groups, but was prejudicial to development of township-wide communities, and when schools were later put

¹ For an account of the relative importance and influence of these various elements see Turner, F. J., *op. cit.*, Chap. 8.

on a township basis as in Indiana, community formation was already taking place without respect to township lines. The extent of this township subdivision varied, but Sanderson makes this generalization for the Northwest Territory: "It was customary to divide the township into nine school districts each two miles square, and to erect a schoolhouse at the center of each district."¹

The nature of the Homestead Act, which applied to the lands beyond the Mississippi, made it desirable for settlers to scatter in staking out their claims and constitutes another factor in explaining the slow birth of community organization. Still another element entering into the complexion of the life developed and into the possibilities of cooperative relationships was foreign immigration: the Canadians and English to Michigan, the Germans to Wisconsin, Scandinavians to Minnesota, etc. With some there was greater retention of their native culture, including tendencies toward community organization, than with others. How large a factor these foreign-born populations might have been during the formative periods is indicated by estimates for the year 1897 when Turner first published part of his material. He gives the percentages of foreign parentage as follows: Nebraska about forty-two; Iowa forty-three; South Dakota sixty; Wisconsin seventy-three; Minnesota seventy-five and North Dakota seventy-nine.² The religious solidarity of some of these groups was in contrast with the heterodoxy which, during the nineteenth century, was spreading division among the native-born constituency. This religious diversity among the latter made for the neighborhood type of relationships rather than those of community.

It is impossible here to do more than merely suggest the needed type of knowledge which would add to a teacher's social understanding of his own region and locality and make him more intelligent in community relationships. For a thorough understanding of either the general background of community life

¹ Sanderson, D., *op. cit.*, p. 470.

² Turner, F. J., *op. cit.*, p. 237.

or the characteristics of a given locality a knowledge is needed of such factors as have been enumerated as well as those of climate, mineral resources, topography and fertility of the land, changes within occupations themselves and the like. Many variables enter into the situation in any region of a country like the United States.

COMMUNITY TRENDS

The illustrations of developmental factors of the previous section should make it evident that the tides of community life are in constant ebb and flow. Many elements are working to disintegrate certain aspects of communal organization, to alter others or to promote still others; the result is continual change in status. Schools are one of these elements having both cause and effect relations with the community life. What are some of the characteristics of recent community change in which schools play one or the other of these roles?

Growth. Reference has already been made to the mounting concentration of people in urban areas with a resulting smaller proportion of the population classified as rural. And of the latter an increasing number are to be found living in villages. Both the number of incorporated villages, record of which is kept by the census and their total population, have increased since 1890. Yet in the rural area are still over half of the children of the nation. In the decade following the World War the movement to the cities was more a matter of whole families than of individuals. Often farms were left in the hands of tenants so that the percentage of tenant operated farms had risen to 42.4 in 1930, a fact which may impinge upon community life and school problems at several points.

Declining in numbers and importance, although still numerous, are rural neighborhood groupings, for farm families travel farther and find more linkages in the services provided by villages and towns or even cities. Thus the growth of the village-country community with the village or town as its center and the surrounding open country integrated into its common

life. Analysis of incorporated villages under 2,500 population throughout the nation suggests that by and large in recent years they are growing or holding their own fairly well.¹ Of 8,900 such places listed in the census of 1910, there were 1,000 by 1930 whose growth had put them into the urban classification. In those places which lost population the declines were greater, however, in the smaller communities. Approximately three-fourths of the 8,900 gained or held their own. A follow-up of changes in the 12,343 villages listed in the censuses of 1920 and 1930 would seem to indicate greater losses in the smaller communities than the previous study suggests. It was found that 56.8 per cent of villages having fewer than 500 people suffered losses during the decade; that 44.2 per cent of those between 500 and 1,000 showed losses and only 28 per cent of those between 1,000 and 2,500 had losses.² Since statistics are not available for unincorporated villages except in the cases of a few sample studies, no definite statements can be made in reference to changes within them. It would be strange, however, if a similar proportion of the very small ones has not seen some shrinkage while the larger ones in many cases have continued to grow. It is estimated that one in every eight persons in the United States lives in a village.

Growth also characterizes the larger communities. Cities of 25,000 or over but less than 50,000 showed a somewhat higher rate of growth between 1920 and 1930 than did the large cities of under a million population. On the other hand, while no city of 250,000 or over failed to gain, over a fifth of those smaller than 10,000 lost population. Also "most of the smaller cities having an unusually rapid rate of growth were within a comparatively short distance of large cities and may properly be called satellites."³ Although not displaying the highest rates

¹ Kolb, J. H. and Brunner, E. deS., "Rural Life," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 511 and 513.

² Ratcliffe, S. C. and Agnes, "Village Population Changes," *American Journal of Sociology*, 37 (March 1932), p. 761.

³ Thompson, W. S. and Whelpton, P. K., "The Population of the Nation," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 13.

of growth the increases in population of these larger places of over 100,000 were such as to account for over half of the national increase during the decade covered. About one sixth of the nation today is found living in cities of 500,000 or over while at least a half lives within a ninety minute automobile ride of a city of 100,000 or more. These facts suggest population concentrations which cannot but continue to alter in a pervasive manner the patterns of community structure and functioning.

Stratification. Not only have new communities been coming into being and the majority of existing ones been growing larger for some years, but stratification and differentiation of their inhabitants have been taking place. Cleavages are discernible whether it be the vast metropolis or an open country area. In the former and in large cities the differentiating processes have long been observable. Immigrant, national and racial groups have maintained some identity in more or less segregated colonies, constituting cultural pockets in the complex of city life. There seems to be evidence that immigrants are abandoning their colonies and dispersing among the general population. Their economic status makes this possible, but in the case of negro and oriental groups segregation continues to be the rule.

Other lines of stratification have been formed along social economic planes. A wide variety of occupations is found in cities and they serve as divergent and often conflicting centers for the activity and interest of their respective participants. It has been a matter of common observation that occupational groups are more concerned with their own problems than those of the community at large. Moreover, occupations have received varying degrees of recognition and the ensuing ranks in social status serve to bring into relief still further the differences between social classes. Associations of the culturally elect, socially select, professional practitioners, leaders in trade and industry, laborers and so on, cater to the rather exclusive interests of their own memberships, frequently to the disadvantage

of other groups, and with the creation of additional distrust upon the part of all concerned.

Other potential causes of segregation are found in differences in ability, in religion, in opportunity and in education. From these may arise misunderstandings and conflicts. Recognition of the significance of segregation and stratification has proceeded to the point that students of social science recognize that large cities cannot be administered satisfactorily as a single population group. The implications hold for administration of schools and even for the work of the classroom teacher.

As a result of the operation of the foregoing factors cities develop different economic and social districts. There is the main business district with its predominance of single people, especially adult males, living in hotels and boarding houses. Usually adjacent to this are run-down tenement sections from which the more fortunate economically have escaped and into which business and industry are expanding. In these are found racial and new immigrant colonies, the "slums" of the poor, great family disorganization, excessive delinquency rates, crime and vice. These transition areas provide municipal and school authorities with a high percentage of their social problems. Farther from the center are sections where wage earners have their homes. Large families with the father the recognized head are typical. Here delinquency and poverty are less. Divorce is not quite as high as in the transition areas but desertion is frequent. This is the second area in which the immigrant lives in his climb to higher social status. Still farther from the main business center is likely to be the apartment districts where business and professional people of varying wealth find accommodations to suit their status. Only a small number of children per family are found and equalitarian relations between wife and husband are acceptable.

Children of these areas bring an entirely different mental and social outlook to school from that of the children of the two preceding types of districts. The same thing is true for those from residential suburban sections where they have gen-

erally had the good fortune to live in their own homes with ample space in which to play with other children of similar advantages. Here, in the absence of the commuting father, the mothers tend to dominance in family and neighborhood affairs. Of course, the situation would be quite different again with the children living in an industrial suburb. As a result of the increasing stratification in city living the social worlds of both adults and children are becoming increasingly divergent. The intolerance, suspicion, snobbishness, defiance, partisanship, readiness for class or racial conflict, cowed indifference, predatory attitudes, etc., of the parents of different areas are reflected in their children. Only the teacher with genuine knowledge and sympathetic understanding of the cultural backgrounds from which children come can aid in the socialization of behavior and the mental and emotional patterns or make a satisfactory adjustment to the community.

What has been said about stratification and segregation in large cities is to some extent true of smaller communities and even of rural life. Specialization of trade and industry, division of labor and economic conditions have everywhere created special interest groups, frequently with conflicting immediate interests. Even in the so-called agricultural villages many sections of the United States manufacturing and trade have become of such importance as to outrank agriculture in the number of people employed. Between the people living in the open country and those villages which have maintained a somewhat parasitical existence on agriculture, the clash of interests finds organizational expression in the formation by farmers of their own buying and selling associations. In the case of towns and cities adjacent to very large cities the factors of specialization, division of labor and segregation are particularly operative. The generalization is warranted that as a community increases in size economic, cultural and biological segregation become increasingly pronounced.

The homogeneity of rural life itself is changing, as the following facts testify. The rural trek of industry added to mining

and lumbering activities has produced some 4,000 industrial villages situated in the open country but having little in common with it. Farm tenancy is displacing ownership operation as already mentioned. Agriculture itself is growing more diversified with farmers tending to specialize in certain crops or produce which identify their interests with the latter rather than with agriculture in general. There are the fruit growers, the wheat growers, the truck farmers, the cotton farmers, corn growers, dairymen, poultrymen, cattle breeders, etc. And there has been the organization of those connected with each of these special branches into national associations. Of course, there are some still more inclusive organizations like the Grange which cut across these lines of cleavage. The decline in functioning of the country church and store results in a weakening of agencies which aided in promoting like-mindedness. Farm children are increasingly being sent to village schools where teachers thus have two sets of pupils with different cultural backgrounds. Added to all this is the migration during the last fifteen years of somewhat over ten million city people to the farms and the promise of further such movements through the governmental policy of "subsistence homesteads." Reflecting on these trends in rural life, Bruce Melvin was prompted to write with perhaps a trace of nostalgia:

is year 1930 marks a stage in rural life when stratification is marked in many sections. . . . The democracy born in a society, nurtured through pride of place and occupation, and forming a dominating tradition in farm life seems to be passing with the increasing stratification. One man is no longer as good as another, and social intercourse is coming to be governed by defined groups and not through living close together. This stratification is not controlled by title or law, but the tastes, interests, economic status, and educational attainment all contribute to making it real.¹

The role of the teacher is, therefore, as difficult as it is important. He occupies a position which makes him subject to

¹ Melvin, B., "Rural Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 36 (May 1931), p. 992.

pressure by the various social groups but which demands that he serve the best interests common to all. He cannot ally himself with any one group or strata and be true to the ideals of education even though his own background and preferences may so incline him. Even in his off-duty hours of rest and recreation he must be careful to avoid the appearance of partiality to any community faction.

Interdependence. Communities in the United States are becoming more closely interrelated in their life as time goes on, their populations grow more intermixed, their economic activities more interdependent, their reliance on the same or similar institutional services greater. Their citizens listen to the same radio programs, view the same movies and read the same papers. This aspect of change away from relatively greater isolation and self-sufficiency toward multiplication of linkages and specialization has been treated so often in recent years as to become somewhat meaningless because of familiarity. Such none the less is the trend whether we be alert to its significance or not and whether we like it or not. Never was the saying more true that "no man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself." Many of the developments which are making for more interdependence between communities have been referred to in the preceding sections and chapters, but one aspect of great importance to the work of the schools requires consideration: the mobility of pupils.

Less than ten years ago one might read in a book of educational sociology "that over eighty per cent of our population . . . continue to reside in the commonwealth in which they were born." That the mobility of the population in general is higher than this we now know. Data tabulated by the Census Bureau on the basis of the 1930 returns and reported under the heading *State of Birth of the Native Population* reveals that one person in every four in the United States resided in a different state from the one in which he was born. Equally

inclusive data for children of school ages have not been assembled, important as this problem is, but several scattered studies suggest what undoubtedly is the direction of the trend of the findings. One of the more recent included the academic history of 19,820 pupils enrolled in six towns and small cities of Missouri, namely, Moberly, Mexico, Boonville, Columbia, Rolla and Springfield. It was discovered that 31.2 per cent of these people had made at least one move from somewhere else to the city in which they lived at the time the study was made. Among this group of 6,198 there were pupils who had moved several times and who had lived in 45 of the 48 states.¹ A member of the commission of the California Curriculum Study of 1925, W. C. Bagley states that barely one third of the children in the eighth grade of the California elementary schools had had all their previous schooling in a single community.² He reports two other studies which also show high mobility of parents and children. In an unnamed Montana city it was found that three-fourths of the children enrolled in the schools in 1900 were no longer living within the city or its immediate vicinity in 1925. At Momence, Illinois, a check on changes during several years showed that an average of 51 per cent of the children entering the first grade moved away within the following eight years. A study made of Newport, New Hampshire, to determine the number of children enrolled in the ~~1~~ grades during the years 1919-1920, 1921-1922 and 1922-~~1923~~ who were living within the township in May 1935, disclosed 71 per cent still residing there. On the other hand, examination of the birthplaces of the 1,120 pupils enrolled in all grades for the year 1933-1934, showed only 55.5 per cent to have been born in the township although 72 per cent were born in New Hampshire. This township and its village are predom-

¹ Carpenter, W. W. and Capps, A. G., "Uncle Sam and His Children," *School Executives Magazine*, 54 (November 1934), pp. 70-71.

² Bagley, W. C., "The Mobility of the Population as a Factor in School Efficiency," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XIX (September 1933), p. 473.

inantly agricultural but an increasing resort business is done in the summer months.¹

The social consequences of such changes go farther than the incidental school retardation so frequently forced upon the pupils. Much has been said about the school adapting its work to the local community but how valid is this advice in the light of such changes? Obviously communities depend upon many other communities for the education formal and informal of their citizenry. Interdependence in life has implications for education and the work of the schools of which more will be said later. One of the most difficult of these problems is the fact that, while greater interdependence seems inescapable, factors exist productive of divergence in points of view or stratification.

Changes in Community Influence. Through the interaction with other people in local community living the developing personalities of the young get much of the social culture on which their growth depends. This may be thought of as the informal education provided by the community as compared with the formal schooling which it also gives. They learn the socially accepted attitudes, the codes of conduct, ideals, traditions, manner of life, standards of values, group loyalties, the patterns of institutional living, not to speak of aesthetic appreciations, ideas and social techniques. Much of the social inheritance expresses the convictions of the various groups in the local community as to which viewpoints, mental set, emotional reactions and conduct are conducive to the general welfare. The result is that the behavior and attitudes of the young are influenced more or less unconsciously through suggestion toward conformity with these stereotypes: they are brought under social control.² In this manner individual independence of action is kept within the limits of what is considered socially desirable. Group solidarity is furthered. A certain degree of

¹ From an unpublished study made by R. M. Kendall under the writer's supervision.

² See Chapter II.

stability is promoted without which a social culture tends to disintegrate because of over-rapid change.

These psychological influences on the child and the adult as well are far more potent among people who share many interests in common and have many personal contacts. As already seen there develops from the intimacy of relations in the neighborhood a high degree of sensitivity on the part of the individual to the opinions and reactions of others. The family living on the open farm as a result of isolation loses a certain degree of responsiveness to the mores of any particular community. On the other hand, in villages and towns there exists a sufficiently large number of people and institutions for the formation of many direct contacts, for the cooperative pursuit of the same or related ends, for the recognition of the identity of interests and for the emergence of consciousness of their unity. In these true sociological communities the psychological forces have been very influential in the formation of the nature of individuals and in controlling them.

Yet our consideration of several of the community institutions in the previous chapters revealed that there were alterations in their functioning at present so that they were less effective in providing the informal educations which play a part in social control. Other factors also, such as commercialized recreation, poverty, insecurity, are part of the situation. The general features of community status described in this chapter are indicative of changes taking place which affect the nature of control. As the town grows into a city and the city into a larger one, the complexion of life is changed so that it gradually ceases to have the psychological characteristics of the sociological community. The dependence upon common services may be larger as the city grows, but individuals are less conscious of the fact; fewer direct contacts are required as functions regarding these services are delegated. Institutional relationships of the derived and impersonal types increase.

Then there are the specialization of interests and activities and the stratification found not only in the larger places but

to a considerable extent also in the smaller. Diverse codes of thought and action arise. Conflict between codes results in the weakening of ethical principles, especially with children. The growth of cities has come about by people moving in rather than by natural increase of the city population. The newcomers to the city leave their former communities and many of their institutional ties behind them while, by virtue of the nature of city life, corresponding ties do not or only slowly develop. The individual or family is as it were emancipated from the customary controls in the light of which life has heretofore been lived. Especially when mobility is great do people have only slight or no acquaintance and thus do not care about each other's conduct. Under such conditions there is little chance for community standards of morality to develop and so prior moral standards and the informal systems of control effective in smaller places are lost. There is a consequent greater readiness to accept the views and attitudes presented through the press, radio and motion picture, any of which may be dominated by some propagandizing agency or interest. Thus there is still social control in large cities but its means are different and there are different standards in view. There is also less sense of personal responsibility for the furtherance of community enterprises upon which, paradoxically enough, individual welfare may be more dependent than in small places. All these changes in some way or another affect the work of teachers, some favorably and some unfavorably, but special emphasis is given to the importance of character education.

TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

Community was defined at the outset in terms of psychological characteristics and functional social unity. On these bases neighborhoods, true communities, other aggregations of people, such as large cities without community characteristics, were distinguished. Reflecting still other conceptions of the nature of community the following bases have been used in classifying them: density of population, occupations fol-

lowed, political divisions, ethnic status, geographical areas occupied. From the standpoint of the common man, size and the dominant interests are perhaps two of the most frequently considered bases for differentiation. The more usual types thus might be roughly listed as large urban commercial, industrial or political communities; smaller urban industrial, political or commercial ones; suburban; small industrial, commercial, agricultural or educational cities and towns; agricultural, milling, mining, lumbering or educational villages; agricultural rural communities and open country. Undoubtedly there will be found some differences between these types either in the character of the population racially, socially and culturally, the degree of urbanization, the number and kinds of institutions, etc., which would affect the work of the school and of teachers. Probably more significant for a teacher, however, is the realization that differences more or less great exist in each single community no matter what the type, differences which he as an individual may find it difficult to understand because of the gulf between his background and those of other people.

An exercise useful for getting a rough and superficial view of differences within a community might be the following. If the student is sincere in his efforts and attempts to be realistic the results will be valuable to him. Make an outline sketch of the city or town with which you are most familiar. On this draw lines which bound the various socio-economic districts. Which of the civic and social problems of this community are found in each of these districts and to what extent? As carefully as you can, describe the differences in the attitudes of the children from these districts.

Such an undertaking should lead to an awareness of many of the important phenomena. The attitudes of the people toward their community or toward different elements in the community; the part played by gossip and public opinion or opinions; feelings and views about community problems; stratification and segregation with their contradictory social worlds;

the all-pervading struggle for existence; the conflicts between individuals and groups of the various economic, social and cultural strata; the conflicts between children; between children, parents and school authorities, etc. This total picture of the interaction of social forces in community life has received sociological treatment in a number of localities. These may be read for whatever understanding can be obtained aside from that acquired through personal experience of the social habitat in which the school and its personnel perform their functions. Among these studies are: an industrial city of the Middle West in *Middletown* by R. S. and H. M. Lynd; the educational, mining, political, agricultural and milling towns of thirteen states described in *The American Community in Action* by J. F. Steiner; a Rocky Mountain mining town in *Small-Town Stuff* by A. Blumenthal; a lumbering town in *An Introduction to Educational Sociology* by R. L. Finney and L. D. Zeleny; a religious community in *Quaker Hill* by W. H. Wilson. Probably the chief values to a teacher in such studies are the means they provide for securing a somewhat detached view of community life, in thus helping him to understand the interaction of social forces—especially as they involve other groups than his own, and in the enlarged social insight he acquires.

In the case of the beginning teacher his first experiences will likely be in a small city, town or rural community. If he himself comes from a rural background this may not present much of a problem, but if he comes from a city of some size, or in the cloistered halls of learning has lost touch with life in these places, considerable adjustment may be required, assuming for the time being that there are cultural and psychological differences between urban and rural peoples.

It is known that populations which are less dense or scattered, limited in their means of communication and contact and relatively stable have in the past developed socio-psychological characteristics different from those of peoples living under the opposite conditions. Such conditions have been common among the rural and small town populations in this

country whereas in the larger cities the opposite obtain. It is probable that some writers knowing this have indulged in a tendency toward armchair generalizations about the respective characteristics of urban and rural people or else have used terms subject to variation in interpretation. To give an example, one says that individualism reaches its most extreme expression in the city while another makes exactly the same claim for rural people. Frequently contradictions are found in the same author. The student is, therefore, to maintain a critical view toward the following comparisons, checking them with his own observation and trying to see in what sense a descriptive word is used and how it is defined.

The urban sociologist sees the city as a center of high intensity interaction. The stimuli playing upon the individual and the contacts with others are myriad. Hence he cannot react so deeply to single stimulations and his response tends to become more verbal, more intellectual and less emotional and genuine. Yet the very multiplicity of impressions forces quick thinking even if more shallow—the city mind is alert, although its judgments may be of the snap-shot variety. Ideas from different sources may be taken up and dropped in rapid succession; thus the passing fads. Because of this enlarged communication and the heterogeneity of the city population, conflicts between systems of ideas, behavior, traditions and attitudes are frequent and conspicuous, resulting in the individual's becoming less certain of the validity of any of them. Thus his tolerance for or indifference to the new, his inclination to live and let live, his tendency to let others do his thinking for him, particularly those reputed to be authorities, those prominent in some field or those who reach him through the newspapers, the radio, the movie or business. Nervous strain is increased with its attendant excitability. The frequency of contacts with other persons precludes the existence of very many permanent or deep relationships. Thus relations tend to become impersonal and governed by set forms of behavior or stereotypes which have little warmth of human feeling about them. Relations of

parents and even those of children with teachers incline toward these stereotyped lines. Factors like stratification and mobility also aid in keeping people from becoming acquainted or interested in each other. Thus the lack of warmth, the reserve, the utter indifference. In a situation of this kind there is restricted gratification of the individual desire for recognition so necessary for mental health. On the other hand, it does allow rather great personal freedom to think and do what one wishes so that within the broad field of custom and morals there is greater personal liberty. The city dweller is accustomed to the idea that many of the things he considers essential to his well-being are only possible through cooperative action. His daily activities are a testimonial to the value of such cooperation and he is, therefore, more ready in many fields for cooperation than is the farmer, albeit on an impersonal plane.

On the other hand, in a rural community and in certain respects in towns and small cities the opposite conditions and characteristics prevail. Stimuli are not as multifarious and life not so hurried. The stability and homogeneity of the population are greater. The smaller number of new experiences can be pondered more deeply; there is no need of rushing to an evaluation of them. The number of the more intellectual stimulations is fewer. There are fewer inconsistent and contradictory ones and so the new is reacted to more slowly and its final evaluation is likely to be made as much upon the bases of traditional attitudes and personal feelings as upon the more objective intellectual aspects. There is less flexibility, and thus "conservatism" and "depth of reflection." Where the new impression clearly has no impingement upon custom and morals this reflective reaction of the rural person might well be denominated independence of thought. If, however, a question of the mores is involved, a negative attitude more quickly asserts itself and he tends to react along customary and emotional lines. The community has a solidarity based upon tradition and sentiment that here imposes at least outward conformity upon all and the teacher is no exception for

all the fact that he may be a "city feller" or from without the state. Furthermore, although the teacher may find more personal response, even friendliness in the smaller communities, because he is an outsider or has been outside for his education, he faces indifference, suspicion or active opposition should he be given too soon to expressing his own ideas about matters of community concern or be the one suggesting innovations in thought, attitude or conduct.

The smaller number of persons with whom there is contact permits of more inclusive and enduring relationships than do the fragmentary transactions between city people. It is a case of human beings associating, not compartmentalized automatons functioning with respect to this or that particularized relation. Thus the person in a rural community expects to know much about the lives and doings of those with whom he has these direct contacts and he expects them to know about him. This personal emphasis is a part of the old rural democracy which tended to judge a man by "what he is" rather than by the money he has. Such intimate living also makes for greater conformity to the community expectations in regard to church, recreation, work, neighborliness, etc., or else there will be talk. All factors make for greater socio-psychical homogeneity and there is less tolerance of exceptions, of "personal liberty to live my life as I see it."

There have always been cliques and, as mentioned in a previous section, there is present increasing socio-economic stratification, but the teacher should be slow to identify himself with any one of these groups. The usefulness of many a teacher has come to an untimely end in a community because of lack of caution here. It is said that the rural mind tends to be individualistic. As has been seen, this is not true where the mores are concerned, but rural people, especially those in the open country, have largely had to depend upon themselves in most of their daily affairs so that there are fewer habits of cooperative actions than in the cities and in this sense there is greater independence of action. The writer, however, has seen

many examples of actual cooperation, regardless of the non-existence of previous habits.

The recent wide extension of intercommunication between urban and rural communities, the increasing mobility of the people of the latter, the exchange of persons and the growing interdependence between the two areas are causing differences to be less pronounced than formerly.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Kinneman makes the assertion that every person is a member of many communities, while Sanderson maintains that a person can only be a member of one community. What significant differences of a sociological import are there between the concepts of these two men? Does one view have more fruitful significance for the teacher than the other?

2. To what extent have the occupations of the people in your native community been determined by geographic factors or by social factors?

3. It is stated by Dawson and Gettys that "The individualization of behavior is at its zenith in the city." On the other hand, Good says, "One of the outstanding characteristics of rural life is the tendency for the people to develop an individualistic attitude toward life." Are the two statements contradictory? Is either true? If so, in what senses?

4. Make a sketch map of the city or town with which you are most familiar. On this draw lines which bound the various socio-economic districts. Which of the social problems of this community are found in each of these districts and to what extent? As carefully as you can, describe the differences in the attitudes of the children from these different districts.

5. Since "home town teachers" are familiar with community mores in ways that teachers coming from the outside could never be, why would it not be a wise policy to restrict employment so far as practicable to the former?

6. One of the most frequent emphases in the consideration of individual differences is upon those that are thought to be hereditary. For schools, however, although they are not as well understood or measured, many of the most critical differences are to a great extent environmental. Explain the bearing of "stratification" and "segrega-

tion" upon the problems of individual differences faced by teachers. Illustrate.

7. Is the recognition of differences between individuals in social status or prestige incompatible with democracy? Are they inevitable or can such differences be avoided?

8. In the Directory and Handbook for the schools of a small Arkansas city under the heading, "Teacher Department" it is stated: "Teachers are expected to so conduct themselves that their actions may be at all times above reproach. Irregular hours during school nights unfits a teacher for efficient school work on the succeeding day. Such irregularities, therefore, will be looked upon by the Administration and the Board of Education of this school with disfavor." Are specified types of behavior expected in the smaller communities of other individuals than teachers? Of whom? To what restrictions are they subject? What is the sociological explanation of such restrictions? Explain why there is a change in these behavior controls as a city grows larger.

9. The chairman of the school committee of a large Massachusetts city who was running for reelection stated in an address: "We have too many of our own boys and girls waiting for the opportunity of being employed in our school system. It's a rare occasion when any other city or town gives one of our boys or girls a job. My fight has only begun relative to such conditions. I need the cooperation of not only the teachers, but all good citizens of—." Suppose the president of the P.T.A. of the school of which you are principal after reading this expression in the newspaper requested you to make a brief statement at the next association meeting on the validity of this view. Write out your statement.

10. Writing in 1934 on the limitations of one-room schools, D. P. Eginton of the Connecticut State Department of Education said: "Rural schools naturally disintegrate logical community areas and encourage segregation rather than cooperative group planning and execution." Try to determine the correctness of this statement either through the study of the activities of the people of some accessible area served by such schools or through consulting reference materials.

11. The legal notice of the annual town meeting of Windsor, Vermont, for March 3, 1931, contained twenty items such as the following on which the assembled voters for the entire township were asked to take action:

1. To elect a Moderator and Town Clerk for the ensuing year.
2. To act on the reports of the Town Officers for the past year. (Including reports by school officers.)
3. To elect all Town Officers required by law to be elected at the annual March meeting. (Including school trustees.)
5. To see if the Town will direct the Selectmen to appoint one or two Road Commissioners.
6. To see if the Town will vote to pay the taxes to the Town Treasurer.
10. To see if the Town will appropriate a sum of money for the Windsor Library Association, and if so, how much.
12. To see if the Town will appropriate a sum of money for the support of an Athletic Field, and if so, how much.
14. To vote a tax on the Grand List of the Town for the various appropriations made, current expenses of the several departments and to pay any indebtedness of the Town and Town School District, establish the rate thereof and the time when the same shall be paid.
15. To establish salaries for the Town Officers.
19. To act on the report of the Special School Committee appointed at the last town meeting.

What vestiges of "village community" organization and relationships may be seen? Be explicit.

SELECTED READINGS

Bedford, S. E. W. *Readings in Urban Sociology*, D. Appleton Co., 1927.

Recommended as a comprehensive source of material on all phases of city life.

Carpenter, N. *The Sociology of City Life*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1931, Chaps. 6, 7.

Treats the socio-psychical interrelations of city life.

Finney, R. L. and Zeleny, L. D. *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, D. C. Heath and Co., 1934, Chap. I.

Reports sociological studies of several different types of communities with the bearing of factors in each on the work of the schools.

Fry, C. L. *American Villagers*, G. H. Doran Co., 1926.

Herein are treated the types of people, occupations, distinguishing qualities and functions of 140 agricultural villages in the United States.

Hypes, J. L. *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.

Describes the participation of the citizens of Lebanon, Connecticut, in primary groups exclusive of the family.

Kolb, J. H. and Brunner, E. deS. *Rural Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, Chaps. III, IV, V, VII.

Gives trends in rural and village life and the work and place of schools.

McKenzie, R. D. *The Metropolitan Community*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

Discusses the growth, characteristics and problems of very large cities.

Sims, N. L. *Hoosier Village*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 117, Columbia University, 1912.

A sociological study of an Indiana agricultural town containing one small college.

Sims, N. L. *The Rural Community*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, Chaps. III and pages 323-348.

Gives descriptions of a number of communities—ethnic, immigrant, religious, etc.—and the well-known account of the evolution of a prairie community is quoted from Small and Vincent.

Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, C. C. and Galpin, C. J. *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, University of Minnesota Press, 1930.

The three volumes of this work provide a most comprehensive picture of the materials and viewpoints in rural sociology.

Steiner, J. F. *The American Community in Action*, Henry Holt and Co., 1928.

This work contains twenty case studies of various types of communities located in thirteen states.

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Thrasher, F. M. *The Gang*, University of Chicago Press, 1927.

An invaluable study based upon investigation of 1,313 gangs in the city of Chicago.

Young, Kimball. *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., 1934, Chap. XXIV.

Recommended for its treatment of the process of stratification with its implications for complex societies.

CHAPTER X

THE COMMUNITY'S SCHOOL

The significance of the community for modern life should now be clear. Communities are points of crystallization in which the mental and physical activities of people find expression. They contain the institutional services needed for the satisfying of human wants and out of which direct and indirect contacts grow. Communities in the past, where they existed in the United States, were generally small and their psychological influence on the mentalities and habits of their dwellers comparatively great. With recent growth in size increasing heterogeneity of population, wide intercommunication and high mobility, some of the psychological contributions of community living are declining or being lost. New problems are arising especially from the growing interdependence. These roughly suggest some of the features of modern communities—the local habitat of schools. Our problem then becomes one of understanding the relations between schools and their communities.

CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

The average citizen of Main Street would think he were the object of prevarication or hair splitting if told that the local community, more accurately the school district, was the agent of the state in conducting schools. He is familiar with the fact that the community provides the money for the purchase of grounds and the erection of buildings. He believes that the selection of the school administrators and teachers is controlled by the board members or trustees who are the elected or appointed representatives of the community. He pays a school tax which provides the greater part of the operating funds. This being the case, it seems a reasonable inference to him that teach-

ers are the employees of the community and that vacancies on the staff might well be used to provide a means of livelihood for local people. If pressed he might concede that some state authority was exercised in connection with the certification of teachers, the number of days schools were in session, some of the subjects studied and other such matters. If Main Street were small and without a high school, yet from civic pride should wish to establish one, it probably would not occur to him that this might be legally impossible—but such it was held to be in a Louisiana city. There would be similar surprise probably were he to learn that the community might not even furnish water free of charge to its public schools unless within the scope of state granted powers, and the courts so decided in the case of an Illinois city.

As a matter of fact the ultimate authority in educational matters resides with the people of the state as a whole. The people through their representatives have in each state made education a concern of the state and given only limited powers to communities. Centralization of authority has gone farther in some states than in others, but the state constitution and statutes determine in each case what is within the province of local control and what is not. Local school districts and their officers are thus in reality branches of the state government. This is true whether school district lines are coterminous with those of municipalities or not. A clear statement of the facts documented with the legal decisions on which they are *based* is contained in the following sentences regarding the functions of school boards:

Education is a state function. The supreme courts of all the states have stated that principle again and again. The school district is a state agency. It is created by the state; its officers receive their authority from the state; it is subject to change or dissolution at any time by the state legislature. . . . Ordinarily, board members are chosen locally. They are concerned only with schools in the district. It is therefore natural for them to think of themselves as local officials looking after local affairs. In reality they are not local officials. If board

members are chosen locally, it is because the state thinks that better public schools can be maintained by having them chosen in that way. . . .

The schools do not belong to the district but to the state; school management is not local self-government, but the discharge of a duty assigned by the state. The board member is helping to manage a certain portion of the educational program of the state. Therefore, state laws, state regulations, and the exercise of state control are not to be regarded as officious interference. The board member's first obligation is to the state; if he is also responsible to the people in the district, it is because the state has delegated to the people a share in its responsibility for education.¹

The amount of authority, however, permitted local communities has been rather large in most states in the immediate past and still is in many. The result is that local residents look upon schools as community institutions in every sense of the word and in many ways this is good. On the other hand, ultimate authority has been vested in the state so that it will be possible to conserve the public good at points where local communities are remiss, shortsighted or ignorant.

School administrators and teachers, therefore, are at the point where collective interests and desires and community interests and desires meet. Since the social insight of the former is often broader than that of the latter there is likely to be friction or conflict. The teacher functions in the interests of both. Legally he is commissioned by the state to mediate the wider social insight and things of public weal, but actually his service is limited by what is assimilable by the community. Further, the latter in most states controls his tenure and salary and is, therefore, in a position to see that it gets to a certain extent the kind of teaching it wants. The importance and difficulty of the work of the teacher and of the school are thus obvious. Another feature further complicating the situation is that of the teacher who may have little sympathy and understanding of the com-

¹ "The School Board Member," *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association*, XI (January 1933), p. 12.

munity *point* of view and, therefore, may not be the most tactful in what is at best an exacting role.

PROBLEMS OF THE LOCAL SCHOOL UNIT

The local unit to which the state delegates school control varies greatly in the United States. It may be some political subdivision, as a city, incorporated village, county or township. It may be some smaller division of a county or township, such as the district which maintains most commonly a single elementary school, sometimes a high school.

Nature of the Unit. In general, the use of cities as local school units seems to have been fortunate. They constitute natural groupings for education, are likely to have an adequate tax base, sufficient children to keep down overhead, possess persons capable of intelligent leadership and meet the other requirements. In them the greatest progress has been made. In some states with small populations it is true that some tiny municipalities classified as cities do not have the above characteristics.

On the other hand, in over half the states the local unit in rural areas is the district, town, township or some variant of these. Volumes have been written about the deficiencies of these small units and untold legislation has been enacted in the attempt to ameliorate conditions without abolishing the units themselves since they are entrenched in custom. The ultimate solution no matter how long it may be postponed is the replacing of most of these units with larger and better ones. Present life demands a more adequate education than the great majority of these can give. Their limitations must be avoided through the setting up of larger units with adequate resources in wealth and people willing to cooperate. The unity of living which produces such cooperative attitudes and gives training in mutual participation in the common affairs is found in the true sociological community discussed in the previous chapter. To some students, therefore, the crux of the problem is not to find a larger political unit which in rural regions so often does not provide a popula-

tion with psychological unity, but to find those true communities already existing which are large enough to maintain the needed education.

This concept, and a name for it, was recognized in a law enacted in Illinois in 1917 to provide for the establishment of community high school districts "about a community center which shall have sufficient territory, assessed valuation, and prospective high school pupils to form a satisfactory and efficient high school." Although the law was subsequently declared unconstitutional some such districts were formed. Later enactment provided for the voluntary creation of these community districts out of any compact and contiguous territory without regard to township lines, and by 1930 there were nearly three hundred of these units. Since they were only for purposes of high school education and several other types of units were already in existence both for high schools, twelve grade systems and elementary schools, there is much overlapping in territory and in administration. As a remedy for this situation L. W. Hacker has proposed that existing units be abolished and each county divided into community units after careful study of the nature of the population and its interests, wealth and topography. He estimated that such a plan would reduce the some 11,956 school districts to about 1,500 community districts.¹

The inefficiency of smaller units has been reiterated time and again in various state school surveys. Three of these reports issued since 1920 have recommended a type of community district. In New York in 1922 the Survey Commission reported that about seven hundred of these natural communities in which people of a rural area and those of the villages at their centers with many things in common, would adequately care for the school needs of the less densely populated territory. The New Jersey Commission in 1928, convinced of the inadequacies of the state's smaller local units, concluded that it would be desirable to combine these into larger areas according to taxable wealth,

¹ Hacker, L. W., "The County-Community School Unit in Illinois," *American School Board Journal*, 78 (March 1929), p. 44.

feasibility of transportation, "and the homogeneity of the population as affecting the willingness of the people to work together on educational matters." A more forthright adoption of the community district is contained in the recommendations of the Missouri survey of the following year: "A school district should conform as nearly as possible to the boundaries of the community which it serves. The center about which are focussed the major interests of the people should be the point of beginning in an effort to discover the boundaries of a community. This center may be of commercial, religious or industrial interest or of some other major interest. The geographical boundaries of these interests that are common should be considered in determining school district boundaries."¹ Subsequent research has been carried out and the communities located, the findings being given in a supplement to the report of the public schools of the state in 1932. Similar work on a smaller scale has been done in other states and districts established along community lines may also be found.

Although the factors used in discovering communities differ somewhat in these different studies, in general they accept the principle of community mapping suggested by C. J. Galpin in 1915. The community is regarded as the area throughout which people are already bound together through ties of various sorts: geographical, commercial, industrial, agricultural, social, religious, of communication, of direct contact. A careful student of the matter and advocate of the community district, J. E. Butterworth, suggests that the following factors are generally helpful in locating centers and boundaries of communities: the purchase of groceries, purchase of hardware, marketing of small produce (e.g., eggs), marketing of bulk produce (e.g., corn), banking, church attendance, grange or other such associational membership and high school attendance. Incidentally, even in existing situations where no change in district boundaries is contemplated but where a new building is to be erected and there

¹ Deffenbaugh, W. S., *School Administration in State Educational Survey Reports*, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 35, 1930, pp. 19-24.

are two or more villages with apparently equal claims for it, the mapping method will usually reveal which is the real community center. But where any consolidation is proposed such study is well-nigh indispensable, for the point of consolidation should be the community center of the area. Certainly the high school, if not other schools, would be located there.

There is another problem of a sociological as well as an administrative nature connected with the small town and village school district so prevalent in many states. Since the war country people in increasing numbers have been sending their children to village and small town schools so that in recent years almost 50 per cent of the boys and girls in village high schools were from the country. In the elementary school the proportion is far from being so high, except in the South. Although frequently this is made possible by the consolidation of the country and village areas for school purposes, in many cases the village school district coincides with the municipal corporation line and the rural pupils pay tuition. Whatever the reasons for such places incorporating, the act brought into the open and perhaps added to the antagonism between town and country. Now with the country people seeking better educational opportunities they must send their children to the villages, yet, living outside the school district, they have no voice or part in the local control of the education of their children. Friction arises, but in the long run the mingling of the children of the two may lessen the misunderstanding and conflict. On the other hand, the teachers in these village schools are confronted with the present situation of having to adapt curricula and methods to the cultural backgrounds and aspirations of two sets of pupils, farm and village. There is the corresponding but even more difficult problem in the city, of course, with its stratification and heterogeneous peoples, but it is not connected in the same way with the unit of administration.

Its School Board. It has already been seen that while the ultimate authority for schools is vested in the state, actually

great powers are given to local boards of education in the practical control of them. Within the rather wide legislative limits set in most states they shape local school policy and select the personnel. That the progress of the schools is in reality quite dependent upon the kind of people who constitute the boards is conceded by such a proposal as that advanced by C. H. Judd for the abolition of boards as interfering with professional school administration. With so much at stake it is quite clear that only the best qualified persons should be in these positions of power. There is much more involved in the problem than can be here considered.

Writers on educational administration urge that the best boards are those composed of the "more responsible elements" of the community, the more successful business and professional men. Such can more readily be obtained if there is selection from school units as a whole rather than by ward or section. In other words, what is wanted is a board that will represent the best educational thinking of the school district rather than the various groups in the community. The trend in recent years has been in accordance with this conception so that in city boards those belonging to the professional and proprietary classes have almost entire control. The rank and file have larger representation on county and rural district boards.

A study reported by G. S. Counts in 1927 questioned the high proportion of the upper strata on the grounds that in reality this meant that schools were run in the interests of their own groups and that such boards do not afford expression to the views of the whole community.¹ Critics maintained, on the other hand, that the business and professional men on boards were conversant with the educational needs of the communities and had the superior qualifications for this work.

The point to be emphasized, however, is one connected with immediate versus ultimate improvement, as Butterworth speaks of it. If immediate progress is all that is desired then such a

¹ Counts, G. S., *The Social Composition of Boards of Education*, Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 33, University of Chicago, 1927.

board will undoubtedly be the most effective (progress being defined as the kind of education they believe best). However, the advancement of education in the long run, as well as the solution of our other social problems, depends upon the support of all the people of a community, depends upon their intelligence with regard to those problems. Such a one-sided representation neglects the education and stimulation of the less progressive or more poorly informed groups. They need the opportunity to participate but they may be indifferent, they may be boss-ridden, they may be dominated purely by class interests. Thus we seem driven to accept as the more practical the upper-class board and election from the city at large as the best method of securing it, but such boards should not seek to fill all vacancies from their own groups. It is probably expecting too much to hope that they will always in their deliberations see or attempt to see the interests of all in the community.

Education a Separate Function. There was a solidarity and unity about village community life where all the people shared in the discussion and the exercise of control over the principal affairs which they had in common. There is still something of this to be found in some of the smaller New England towns when in their meetings they decide upon the questions that involve their health, recreation, protection, education, etc. Additional and interlacing contacts are afforded and the community may become more closely integrated. The more separation of interests the greater the disintegrative effect and the more the community and individuals come to function in a departmentalized manner. Furthermore, if education could be administered as any other governmental problem by the municipal government, community finances and services could be more scientifically budgeted. But since the time of Condorcet and earlier men have pointed out the dangers of governmental interference with what is to be taught in the schools. Local governments in this country have not shown themselves to be any more trustworthy in this respect than others. On the contrary, in those areas where

the boundaries of municipal units and school districts are coterminous there have always been cases where the political forces have sought to use or influence the schools.

For these reasons, the tendency in this country has been to remove schools as far as possible from government control. In one direction this takes the form of the demand for fiscal independence, that is, the right of the board of education to determine the school budget within the limits set by legislative action rather than submit it to the municipal authorities for approval. When the latter is done it inevitably means that the municipal authorities have ultimate control over school policy. There have been many instances of the crippling effects of this during the depression years of the early thirties. Where school authorities have fiscal independence studies would seem to show that there have not been serious extravagances of expenditure or abuse of taxing power.¹ Such a separation is more likely to prevent the neglect of schools for some other project in which the city administration is more interested at the time.

A further example of the tendency to separate education from civic control is found in the selection of school board members. Appointment by the mayor or city council is not in general favor because of the undue political influence to which this subjects the board. Even the membership of the mayor *ex-officio* on the board is likely to have political repercussions. To use only one example, the case comes to mind of a certain Massachusetts city where the mayor as ex-officio board member was the cause of the city schools being paraded in the papers time and again in connection with some issue of partisan politics. A further safeguard against such entanglements has been taken in the practice followed in many cities of holding school elections apart from other elections. In this manner the candidates do not run on any party platform and the attention of the voters is more likely to be fixed on their real qualifications for the work. Rural school districts do not encounter many of these political

¹ Graves, F. P., *The Administration of American Education*, Macmillan, 1932, pp. 450-452.

hurdles, as their boundaries are more often not coterminous with those of other legislative or administrative units. Political influence there is more likely to operate along personal lines. Thus there appears no alternative for cities but to separate educational functions from the other governmental services, even though this does isolate the aid of one of the possible unifying factors in community life from the others.

WEAKENED SOCIAL CONTROL AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

We turn now to an entirely different problem. One of the aspects of present community status was seen to be the weakened condition of the controls extending over the minds and conduct of people. Growth in community size, facile inter-communication, mobility and other such factors are making less effective the customary controls. The same thing is especially noticeable in two of the local group institutions, church and family. One of the consequences of this decline in customary controls, although many other factors also make their contribution, is the appalling amount of crime and juvenile delinquency in this country. Economically, the annual cost of between ten and twenty billion dollars is without justification, but the loss becomes the more staggering when considered in the light of the blighted lives of the principles and the ill effects and suffering brought to thousands of others, and the end is not yet.

Two facts seem clear as far as children and adolescents are concerned. First, other institutions besides the school are becoming increasingly ineffective in preventing anti-social conduct, a fact which would seem to make the responsibility of teachers all the greater. But in the second place, it is equally clear that the school working alone faces a well-nigh impossible task. No matter how vital and dynamic the character education program may be made, it will be nullified by the cultural backgrounds from which many pupils come. There is thus need for the school to do more, even granting that it has been able to achieve a satisfactory character program which by and large is not yet true.

It is even more than a possibility that schools contribute to juvenile delinquency or are involved in it. Reliable determination of the extent of this is admittedly difficult. While discounting the sole responsibility of the school in a large number of cases, Healy and Bronner stated that school dissatisfaction was a major contributing cause in 9 per cent of the boys and 2 per cent of the girls out of 2,000 cases of delinquency in Boston studied by them.¹ Among the different school situations which have provided the precipitating causes in actual cases are: the frustrating competition in which the subnormal I.Q. finds himself; the frequent repetition of grades required of the high I.Q. whose father keeps moving to a new city in search of work; the case in which unremedied reading deficiency hinders satisfying school progress; situations where the school fails to awaken any interest and mental curiosity or to provide any ideational life by which the child may live; improper medical or educational care of the cross-eyed, stutterers, those with defective vision or hearing, etc.; unwholesome companionships begun at school; inadequate supervision of playgrounds and toilets permitting sex communication and sex experience; instances in which the child feels he has been unjustly treated or not given recognition by teachers.² One of the first symptoms of school dissatisfaction and incipient delinquency is truancy. In fact scientific investigation definitely shows that the criminal career begins in childhood or adolescence, frequently finding its first expression in truancy, theft or sex misconduct. Sometimes the statement is made that most criminals were failures in school.

Granting, however, that conditions affecting the out-of-school life of the child more frequently precipitate the delinquent trend there are ways in which understanding and informed teachers and administrators may help. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the eventual solution of our

¹ Healy, W. and Bronner, A. F., *Delinquents and Criminals*, Macmillan, 1926, p. 181.

² Healy, W. and Bronner, A. F., "How Does School Produce Delinquency?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI (April 1935), pp. 450-470.

crime problem will only come when we shut off the supply of criminals, that is, prevent incipient delinquency or potential delinquents from developing into criminals.

Another thing has been definitely established, that by far the largest proportion of all delinquents are found in those areas lying outside of the business and industrial zones in our largest cities. In consideration of stratification and segregation in the preceding chapter it was noted that in these disintegrating areas are the first home of newly arrived immigrants, negroes, run-down tenements, slums of the poverty stricken, high family and personal disorganization and much adult criminality. It is under such adverse circumstances that delinquency prevention must be attempted. The inability of a single institution like the home, school, church or even several agencies operating independently to cope with such conditions has been demonstrated. There is need for concerted effort on the part of all agencies to carry out a united program in which each shall make the contribution for which it is best adapted. The vigor and unity needed could be secured by centralizing authority for crime prevention in a single agency. In a few cases city school authorities have accepted some of this responsibility but it would seem that some other body such as a council of the social agencies actually serving a delinquency area would be more effective. The contributions of the school beyond a vital program and the avoidance of the aggravating situations named above are various. School records contain data about children and family life and would aid in the determination of the potential delinquents. Previous records of delinquents would be available for them. The school's recreational and social program is needed with more extended participation by boys and girls than at present is realized. Of course, cooperation with juvenile courts, with social, religious and recreational centers is implied. The use of visiting teachers or school counselors has multiplied the effectiveness of the school's contribution as already pointed out. And not only in areas of high delinquency but schools everywhere have opportunities for side-

tracking incipient delinquent careers through the provision of special facilities and intelligent and understanding activity on the part of teachers and administrators.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS AND THE COMMUNITY

Superintendents immediately responsible under local boards of education for the administration of schools face many problems in their relations to the community. They have few legal powers, exerting for the most part such authority as the community's elected representatives permit them. Many factors play a part in the harmony or friction of these relationships. The board in its turn is not only inclined to share local ideas but is subjected to more or less pressure by various elements in the community who wish specific things done or wish the schools to do differently. From myriad sources come pulls for this or that. On the other hand, the school must seek to carry out a program which in a number of fundamental features represents broader educational thinking than that of the local populace—that of the state. By virtue of his training and background the superintendent feels responsibility for the latter and also has educational views of his own no matter how sympathetic he may be toward the community demands. The role of the superintendent, therefore, is one which requires much.

School Publicity. No matter how helpful his board and how sound his ideas and sagacious his policies one factor in their successful achievement is cooperation by the community. One of the bases for cooperation in any social situation is information. The administrator must keep the people informed of what the schools are doing, explain policies and the reasons therefore, share educational ideas with the community. Channels for publicity differ with schools and communities and so will the material or content which will be effective in securing the desired cooperation. A great body of literature has come into existence dealing with these problems and only an illustration or two of its uses and problems can be given here.

Even though facilities exist for putting people in possession of reliable information which will be accepted by them and determine their attitudes it is not simple, for the school authorities, for they are suspected of having vested interests and of representing views of the "out-group," the world beyond the community. Suggestive of the many implications are the studies of the sources on which people depend for their news and views of schools. One such included one hundred and forty-six men, about 90 per cent of whom were laborers or farmers living in three communities of less than 2,500 population in one of the Great Lakes States. The trend of results may be fairly judged from the following samples. To the question as to the source from which they secured most of their information about schools the replies were: From teachers, 5; pupils, 47; newspapers, 20; parent-teachers' association, 0; friends, 0; business men, 54; by visiting school, 0; board members, 7. One hundred and thirty-one had never been in a classroom and seen a teacher teach since they left school. During the preceding year one hundred and sixteen had not discussed school matters with a public school teacher, yet these were small communities. One hundred and sixteen replied that they did not read the school items in the local newspaper. One hundred and twenty-seven had not discussed school matters during the preceding year with a member of the board of education. Yet eighty-one said they discussed such matters daily with school pupils. This tendency to get information from their own children came out prominently in two other questions. In case of conflicting opinion regarding the advisability of reemploying a certain teacher the sources of information which would influence these men the most in forming an opinion were: newspapers, 0; pupils, 76; friends, 0; business men, 56; teachers, 0; the superintendent, 12; school paper, 0; parent-teachers' association, 0; member of the school board, 0. If the conflicting opinion were over the conduct of boys and girls while in school the most influential sources would be: newspapers, 17; pupils, 64; friends, 0; business men, 31; teachers,

15; school paper, 0; parent-teachers' association, 0; member of school board, 2; superintendent, 14. If the conflict were over the need of a new school building; the sources would be: newspapers, 91; pupils, 0; friends, 6; business men, 24; teachers, 0; parent-teachers' association, 0; school board member, 2; superintendent, 7. If the conflicting opinion were over the unsportsmanlike way in which a coach trained athletes the sources would be: newspapers, 94; pupils, 16; friends, 0; business men, 27; teachers, 2; school paper, 0; parent-teachers' association, 0; board member, 0; superintendent, 1. Only in the case of a conflict regarding the need of new playgrounds and equipment would as many as 31 men be influenced by the superintendent.¹ The insignificant or scant influence of parent-teachers' associations and school board members are also to be noted.

Not only are parents influenced by the facts and views given them by their own children but the children may be used to take printed material into the homes. Teachers and administrators are quite familiar with this practice, but the prospective teacher may be surprised to learn of its extent. The National Education Association in recent times has supplied schools annually with around a half million leaflets dealing with various phases of school problems. Cities large and small mimeograph, with students frequently doing the work, informational messages for the homes. Often these are sent along with the report cards. A mimeographed sheet effectively used by a small New Hampshire city in 1933 read as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS SUPERINTENDENTS AND SCHOOL BOARDS
RECOMMEND AS FOLLOWS FOR ECONOMY

Drop assistant supervisors	Lebanon has none.
Drop typing from Jr. High	Lebanon has none.
Drop sewing below grade VI	Lebanon has none.
Drop summer vacation schools	Lebanon has none.
Drop kindergarten	Lebanon has.

¹ "What Does the Layman Know About Schools?" *Nation's Schools*, IV (October 1929), pp. 86-90.

Reduce salaries	Lebanon has.
Put forty pupils in a room, grades I to VI . . .	Lebanon has and some.
Increase teacher load at high school	Lebanon has.
	Lebanon has dropped one course in Do- mestic Arts and Me- chanic Arts.

From a progressive school point of view, we are not proud of the above but if it is in keeping with financial ability, then all right.

DID YOU KNOW:

- That Lebanon's operating budget is reduced 22.2 per cent?
- That for the last five years our per pupil cost has been below state average?
- That the cost per pupil (1930-31) was \$10 less than state?
- That Lebanon has two high schools; but the cost of same per pupil is lower than forty-one of the eighty-three others in the state?
- That Lebanon has from one to two per cent more children per adult than the state average?
- That West Lebanon High and Junior High has grown in ten years from 95 to 180?
- That only one teacher has been added?
- That Lebanon High and Junior High has grown in ten years from 254 to 391?
- That only one teacher has been added?
- That in the Stanford Achievement tests every grade 2-8 inclusive scored above the standard median score?
- Consolidation saved the district \$3,000 last year?
- That the teachers are working hard to make up for lack of supplies, books, etc?

....., Supt.

School items in the columns of newspapers are not only a means of giving the information needed for cooperative relations but in their ideology bring the administration into rapport with the community or leave it cold or even antagonistic. This is especially true in places not too large for the psychological factors of community living to have lost their effectiveness. Such communications must be formulated in the light of local circumstances and require understanding and knowl-

edge on the part of the administrator. Depending upon such circumstances, the two following examples of notices of the opening of schools may either have been effective, unfortunate or failed in utilizing the opportunity for strengthening cooperative relations.

The first appeared in the paper of a small New Hampshire town,

NOTICE

The . . . Public Schools will open September 4. There will be a Teachers' Meeting at the Grade School Building, September 3 at 2:30 P.M.

The second is the newspaper notice of the beginning of the session of a consolidated school located in an agricultural village in Kentucky.

SCHOOL NEWS

The . . . Public School will open Tuesday, September 5th with the first assembly in the Methodist Church at 9 o'clock.

We are expecting each parent to be present with his child. Your attendance is imperative for the welfare and best development of your child, school and community. You would not dare risk your finances even to an expert financier, without giving him your undivided cooperation, but I venture to say without fear of contradiction that the education of your child is the greatest material heritage that any parent can give his posterity. An education is a possession that moth and rust can not corrupt nor thieves break through and steal, but houses, land and money are being taken away from their rightful possessors each day. Therefore, I implore your help in making this the most successful school year we have yet experienced. A school is an institution constituted of pupils, parents and teachers and for either of these factors to default in their obligation and duty means a less efficient school. As a teacher, have I a legitimate excuse for the school not being at its best until I have exerted my best efforts to foster its development? The answer must be in the negative. Likewise, it must be true of either of the other factors. All individuals are fallible and no one is more willing to admit of their susceptibility to mistakes than teachers, but these errors can be greatly reduced by the full and harmonious

cooperation of each constituent in this school district. Take our yoke upon you and learn of us; look at our problems through our lense, and thus see if you arrive at the same conclusion.

In my humble opinion no parent has a better temporal friend than a conscientious, God fearing and God called teacher. Our entire teaching corps is made up of such instructors. Therefore, we covet an opportunity to help you and may we expect the same of you.

....., Principal

Courses of Study and the Community. Another problem of the administrator, one in which teachers also share, is the adjustment of the courses of study to the community. The statement that the school is the servant of the community may well be revised to read, the school serves the community through serving society. The ultimate objectives of education are the same for all schools, no matter in what community, and go back to the development of the personality needed for participation in the life of our day. Group and institutional life, however, does not exist in a vacuum, it is found in local communities; and schools must seek the attainment of ultimates through the realization of more immediate objectives defined in part by life in these communities. Also what is possible at any stage of development of a child is determined largely by his background. Then, as already seen, the community traditionally has regarded the school as its own and a certain amount of adjustment would be made inevitable by this fact were there not other more valid grounds for advocating it.

The problems grow out of attempts to determine the extent of the adjustment. The superintendent of the Florida city in which a citizen protested against the use of a geography with twenty-five pictures of California scenes as against four of Florida, may have been able to laugh off the incident, although this is by no means a foregone conclusion. He faces a difficult situation, however, in deciding the extent to which the offering of his schools should be influenced by needs of the transient population as opposed to the permanent. Or again, for example,

in schools attempting vocational guidance and even more in those providing vocational training, the question of the extent to which local means of livelihood should influence the work is encountered. The general principle that there should be adaptation has been accepted as almost a pedagogical axiom, to use the expression of A. A. Douglass. Some believe that the vocational curricula should in large measure deal with the important occupations of the community. Thus in cities the courses of study have been based upon surveys of the number of people employed in the major occupations and the number of pupils in the past who have found their way into them. In rural regions the principle has been interpreted to mean that the courses should seek to prepare pupils for more efficient participation in the life of rural communities, or stress occupations connected with agriculture, or even to influence pupils to remain in these places and thus contribute to their betterment. Limiting the validity of such adaptations in both urban and rural communities are the facts of the increasing mobility of people, especially the city-ward trend, the rise of factors tending to lessen differences between communities and the rapid change in the processes of occupations themselves. For many such reasons, others urge not only against gearing the vocational program too closely to local occupations but against highly specific vocational education at all. In actual practice then, the extent of adaptation will vary but some is usually found.

Much the same situation exists as regards the course of study and the civic, social and cultural needs and activities of the community. As has been seen, we are troubled with the ills of stratification and segregation. Heterogeneity aids these in the breakdown of community unity, of the sense of civic responsibility. Local contacts and interaction are less adequate for social-civic education. Since the particular patterns take different local forms the curricular adaptations must coincide with these respective needs in a given community.

A further illustration of both the difficulty of applying the principle and of the necessity for attempting to do so is found

in the two diverse backgrounds of the pupils in town and village schools. About two-thirds to a half actually live in these places, while the other third or half come from the surrounding open country.

Of course adaptation in the last analysis is made not by the administrator but by the classroom teacher as he from day to day utilizes the materials of community life and child background in instruction. Of the need of this men of vision have been writing for centuries.

Public Relations. This discussion of the problems of administration may well close with a number of illustrations of actual instances of the type of difficulties involved in maintaining satisfactory public relations especially in smaller communities.

One not uncommon source of disagreement lies in the functioning of student societies. In a number of states the existence of secret fraternities or sororities in public schools is illegal, but these organizations continue because of their entrenched position, because they operate in a relatively harmless way or because school authorities are in sympathy with them. When they seem to be detrimental and the authorities desire to bring them under supervision, eradicate their exclusive and secret features or in other ways minimize their baneful effects, a dangerous problem exists. Only great tact, good judgment and a penetrating understanding of the community will bring the superintendent and his schools through such a course of action without injury. For example, in a high school fraternity initiation in a large city of a New England state a boy was seriously burned. After deliberation the school committee decided, among other things, that there should be no more pledging or initiation of individuals into sororities and fraternities and that students be asked to sign pledges agreeing to this ruling. It was hoped that graduation of existing members would thus in time terminate the societies. In spite of the rule, however, there was subsequent pledging, a few students were suspended, the row grew and involved large numbers of parents

and suspension was fought for many months through the various courts to the state superior court. Premature retirement of the superintendent was an indirect result and in the process the schools have received scars which will require time to heal. Whatever the method used in handling this type of problem it will have to be one suited to the thinking and characteristics of the community.

A way for school authorities to assure themselves of a knowledge of where parents stand and give the latter the feeling that they are being consulted is through canvassing opinion before action is taken. In one city of 50,000 with very strong societies operating along Greek letter lines in name or practice the principal of the senior high school sent parents a question blank with queries such as the following: Should public high school organizations be exclusive or democratic? Should the aims of the societies be curricular or social? Should the school place a limit on the expense of the organizations? What would be reasonable expense? Do you favor faculty or pupil control of admission to membership? Are you in favor of informal initiations? Should meetings be held on nights preceding a school day? Another part of the plan consisted in getting student suggestions, and the appointment of committees consisting of teachers, society members and other students to consider all relevant data and make recommendations. After a public hearing new regulations were adopted which converted the societies into high-school clubs.¹

Changes in the school day which lengthen it or shorten the lunch period have been the causes of considerable disturbance in far too many communities. Even if only a few parents feel seriously aggrieved the conflict may grow under newspaper publicity to unbelievable magnitude. For instance only a few years ago in a Massachusetts city the announcement of a ninety minute increase in the school day resulted in protests which culminated in a mass meeting attended by 5,000 people. No

¹ Wadham, J. A., "From Fraternities to Clubs," *American School Board Journal*, 76 (March 1928), pp. 51-52.

matter what the cause may originally have been, if the school authorities have acted in such a way that it can be termed "arbitrary" they give the dissatisfied a weapon of power. Dismissal of a teacher which does not meet with public approval or unpopular management of a school cafeteria are only a few of the many hazards to good public relations.

In the smaller cities and school districts many of the difficulties of the administration grow out of either disciplinary matters or relations between teachers and the community.

As an example of the latter we may take the case of a Vermont village of about 2,500 population. Among the new elementary teachers employed one year was one personally much interested in aesthetic dancing and quite proficient in the art. In the course of the year, in her spare time out of school hours, she gave dancing instruction free to a few pupils who were interested. Some of the patrons of the school, not the parents of the pupils, objected vigorously to the superintendent and the school committee. The latter directed the superintendent to have the teacher discontinue the instruction.

Another view comes from the unpublished statement of the head of a consolidated school in an Ohio township. The problems in this school with its four hundred pupils and thirteen teachers in a village of three hundred are typical of many. The supervising principal writes:

The board insists that the teachers stay in the community, in order that they may offer their assistance in the community work. There are few desirable places in the community where teachers can board. In previous years they have boarded in the neighboring towns. At present I am so situated that it would be possible for me to board four of them. Would it be advisable or what is the solution?

There is a married lady, age about forty, from a neighboring town teaching the seventh grade. She is a very good teacher and gets results. The community is objecting to having her teach because her husband who is an able bodied man refuses to work, depending upon her salary for a living. What should be done about the case?

There are some local girls, graduates of the school, who have

chosen to follow the teaching profession. Three have taught for three years each in neighboring schools and have made good. The board thinks it is only just and fair to give them an opportunity to teach here in preference to some of our teachers who have taught for years. Would this be advisable?

We have three churches in the community which are quite antagonistic toward each other. Would it be advisable to affiliate with any one church or better to divide interest between the three?

Would it be advisable for the school to handle all school texts and school supplies? The board is advocating this very strongly except for the clerk of the board who happens to be the local dealer in such things. We have ample room in the building and the board's idea is to sell at cost plus the expense of handling.

I have a domestic science teacher who is a good instructor but is not very practical. There are complaints also that she is not tidy enough with her clothes, especially for a domestic science teacher. It probably is a matter of poor taste but what can be done?

TEACHERS AND THE COMMUNITY

Because of the characteristics of living in the larger cities the teacher is relatively free to conduct himself as he desires within the bounds of professional ethics. Not so in the smaller communities or in the country, and it is in such places that the majority of candidates find their first opportunity for teaching. Here there is a danger that the new teacher, because of his training, or perhaps because of a large city background, may feel himself superior to the community. He may even regard himself as something of a missionary to the culturally backward. No more serious mistake could be made. In the first place people do not want to be saved and are, in any case, rather inclined to resist what is new. Such a teacher will be regarded as an immature upstart and not only will derive scant satisfaction from community contacts but will be of extremely limited usefulness. Even though he is supposed to represent the wider educational insight of the state, he thereby makes himself a poor medium for its translation into community

patterns. Rather must he realize the sociological nature of the community and through his superior understanding achieve an appreciation of its points of basic strength, be forewarned about its attitudes toward him and the school and thus have the informed and tolerant intelligence needed to adjust himself to its life. In these respects teaching in a small community is more difficult than teaching in a large city, yet because of the premium it places upon social relations it may be a greater challenge for those who would like to see their lives have wider influence than with the children they meet in the classroom.

Several aspects of the teacher-community relationships will now be briefly listed. How much validity these have will be suggested by quotations here and there from statements of beginning or younger teachers as to their experiences in various states. Although these are only random cases the truth of their observations has been corroborated many times over.

In the first place, the teacher must be discreet in the choice of associates, and this includes the kind of people with whom he lives. Status in the community is determined in more ways than one by the lodging or boarding place. The writer well recalls the disgust of a young college professor whose choice of a house in a community of 10,000 was vetoed by a superior because it was located in the "wrong section," which, incidentally, was only a block from one of the approved streets. However, he lived to see the wisdom of the move. As for associates, a teacher in a Massachusetts town warns: "The young teacher must be careful of his associates, especially in a small community. He should make contacts with such social organizations as are open to him and are within his means. He should avoid association with high school pupils on a basis of social equality, remembering that he functions as a leader for them, not as a 'pal.' . . . In his choice of contacts, let him move with the best people he can." The last statement implies being slow to choose until he has time to discover who are the "best people."

In his relations with parents and citizens generally, he must

maintain a disarming but not too profuse cordiality, at the same time expecting possible criticism, perhaps indifference in regard to things which he thinks vital to the education or welfare of children, and maybe lack of cooperation. In the last two situations the fault, in part at least, lies at the door of the school and the teacher. A Tennessee teacher writes: "If a teacher is new for a small town, she is the subject of talk and here is her greatest problem. She is criticized for everything that she does or does not do. She must watch every step. Another important thing is that she must be friendly with all the people. She should make all the parents feel that she is especially interested in their child." One in Kentucky states: "I have found community and school social problems hardest to solve. People criticize a school man very readily, and it is impossible to please everyone. However, you will find level-headed men in every town who will help a new man in his community problems." From a large Arkansas city a teacher in his first year had two comments: "Parents' laxness in regard to pupil attendance and grades; parents' hostility to the school system." A Pennsylvania principal in an interview with a prospective teacher summarized a common community tendency in these words: "Success is always accepted. Failure, even though it be the fault of some outside agency, perhaps the home, is usually laid at the feet of the schools and teachers. Rarely is failure analyzed by the community to find what is the matter. The community is prone to jump at conclusions with both eyes and ears shut tight." One of the most important things for the teacher to remember is that he must serve the interests of all, not just one segment of the community. Although his security may depend upon his standing with the "better people," he must not forget the others. In the same way he seems to align himself with only one section when he joins the American Federation of Teachers, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In the third place, the community expects the teacher to be interested in and to participate in certain phases of its life.

This means spending most of the week-ends during the school year in the community and living in it, thus contributing to it both personally and financially. It also means varying degrees of participation in the activities of educational, religious, social and welfare organizations. It usually does not mean public expression of personal opinion about community social and civic questions, at least not uninvited during early years. Then too, activity along political lines will not be welcome. Since various interest groups exist and there is stratification he must be cautious not to offend in the selection of the vehicles for his participation. A teacher in a New Hampshire semi-private secondary school records an early experience as follows: "Shortly after I began work I visited in the home of a very cultured and important person in the town. In the course of conversation I was politely informed that as a new member of the community I was being watched closely by the town people and that it would be a good idea if I connected myself with one of the churches in town and attended more or less regularly."

Finally, the teacher is expected to avoid doing those things which are contrary to the code which the community sets for teachers. In many cases this code comprises forms of beliefs and behavior which in the past were generally considered desirable but which at present may not be strictly adhered to by many citizens. Those citizens in doubt about where the "new morality" is leading us prefer to have their children brought up in the old way and expect teachers to set the example. It may be a question of smoking, of attending certain plays and movies, of literature read, of the scientific views entertained or the companionship of the opposite sex. In several respects the unfortunate result is a restricted personal, especially social, life for the teacher. While not all teachers are "mobile maidens or men meditating matrimony," all of them need social diversion for the sake of their mental health and many of them are single and naturally should be expected as normal individuals to enjoy the company of the opposite sex. The teacher must

face the situation with a realistic attitude and discover what the code is in a given community and then govern himself accordingly or else go to another.

Sometimes school boards express the community mores in regulations which the teacher is expected to observe. A far from extreme statement is this from the *Directory and Handbook of the Public Schools* of an Arkansas town:

TEACHER DEPARTMENT

Teachers are expected to so conduct themselves that their actions may be at all times above reproach. Irregular hours during school nights unfit a teacher for efficient school work on the succeeding day. Such irregularities, therefore, will be looked upon by the Administration and the Board of Education of this school with disfavor.

A man in a New Hampshire town reports this experience: "I was seen taking out a girl who was a teacher in the girls' department of the school. This time the headmaster called me into his office and politely informed me that several of his friends in the town had noticed that I was going around with this girl and did not think the hours we were keeping were those becoming a school teacher. He suggested that perhaps it would be best if I did not go out at all in that town because it was setting a bad example for the students."

In conclusion the statement of one who had passed successfully through the adjustments of a beginner may be given: "If the young teacher can handle his social position in the town well enough so that he is not a subject of discussion, he will probably be a success. The problems of the classroom, so much exaggerated, are not difficult to handle."

COMMUNITY USE OF SCHOOL PROPERTY

Until comparatively recent times use of the school plant was restricted entirely to the use of the pupils. Even though the laws of several states made outside usage legal prior to 1900 no wide-spread advantage was taken of the opportunity. Both

the public and the school authorities tended to regard the property as more or less sacred to the use of pupils and outside usage as somewhat in the nature of trespass. Of course, here and there were instances of different attitudes. In the last few decades, however, the concepts of the nature of education and the function of schools have been extended and more responsibility is felt for the non-school population. Meanwhile the extra-curricular activities increased and served to build new ties between schools and communities. Adult education and recreational movements pointed attention to the usefulness the schools might have in their several fields if they but would. Influenced by these and other factors, the buildings and grounds of new plants were planned so as to provide attractive facilities for a wider range of service than that of recitation and calisthenics. This involved considerable outlays of capital and there was heard with increasing insistence the argument that it was economically unsound to let this invested capital lie idle and depreciate during those parts of the day and year when schools were not in session.

The result has been that the school has been opened to community use to an extent that was undreamed of a few years ago, especially in rural regions or the smaller communities where facilities for recreational, social and athletic activities are not abundant, as in large cities. In fact the early strength of the school community-center movement was found in the needs of the people of the less densely populated states. Yet there are many boards and school administrators still who look askance at the new attitude toward community usefulness. They either refuse to permit the use of the property, draw up regulations which severely curtail the possibilities, or assess extremely high fees for the privilege.

According to Ready, in the following twenty-four states the control of school property was, in 1930, vested in the local school board: Alabama, California, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York,

North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas and Vermont. In Maryland county boards had this power of control, while in Nebraska in the absence of legislation it was customary for the voters to determine upon use of the property.¹ Ready names sixteen states which have legislation permitting the use of school playgrounds after school hours by outside agencies for recreational purposes. Accordingly, in a number of states, interest for the moment has risen to the point of permissive legislation or leaving the decision to local boards; in others there is indifference or lack of legal sanction. State departments of education themselves in a number of states show little concern.

Where the way is legally open, other community facilities inadequate and a desire exists to have school property serve the community there are a number of practical problems to be met by a plan for operation. What specific uses and organizations shall be permitted or encouraged? Indicative of one answer might be a motto of the Cooperative Education Association of Virginia: "Every public school in Virginia a Community Center where the citizens may unite for improvement of their educational, moral, civic and economic interests." Should buildings be used for political and religious meetings or by individuals or organizations for their own profit? Should use be entirely restricted to the community? In as much as both operating costs and depreciation are involved, should fees be charged all users or should only some be charged? If the latter, who should be exempt? What custodial care is necessitated? Through whom shall permits be secured? Should the school's own extra-curricular program be required to give way to outside use? Should the school authorities take rather definite responsibility for promoting and arranging a schedule of community use or simply extend a welcome to responsible organizations and grant their requests when made?

A study of the uses of auditoriums in New York State showed

¹ Ready, M. M., *School Playgrounds*, U. S. Office of Education Pamphlet, No. 10, 1930, p. 18.

the general tendency to restrict them to those having recreational purposes or special community activities related to schools or public welfare. In almost half of the communities covered no rental charge was made. The average usage was once a week.¹ In cities as large as Des Moines and Omaha part of the school plants are reported to be in use nearly every evening. Examples of the fees charged for the use of high school auditoriums in 1930 in various cities are: Newark, \$3 to \$30; Cleveland, \$1.50 to \$13; Stamford, \$1 to \$10; Portland, Me., \$14.50 to \$50; Hartford, \$20 to \$35; New York City, \$0.25 to \$10; Berlin, N. H., \$50; Cincinnati, \$15 to \$25; Nashua, \$25 to \$75; Buffalo, \$3 to \$5; Oakland, \$3 to \$20. Charges for the use of the gymnasium alone in the same year were: Boston, Bangor, Chicopee, Buffalo, \$3; New York City, \$1.75; Greenfield, Mass., and Los Angeles, \$2.50; New Orleans and Cleveland, \$4; Bayonne, \$4.50; Des Moines and Baltimore, \$5; Grand Rapids, \$6; Rutland, Vt., \$7.50; and Keene, N. H., \$10.²

The particular plan put into operation then must be worked out in the light of all considerations and adapted to the needs, desires and conditions of the given community. As a concrete example of the thinking of one board on the subject, we may quote from the *News-Leader* the gist of the new rules adopted in October 1931 in Richmond:

Under the new rules, use of the school buildings for regular Sunday school and church services or other religious instruction will still be permitted upon payment of the regular fees but use of the buildings for bazaars and card parties is prohibited and the only dancing to be permitted except on the stage will be the annual and commencement balls of John Marshall and Thomas Jefferson High Schools.

No secret meetings or series of engagements of the same building for political purposes will be permitted and only such meetings and entertainments as are of community

¹ Soper, W. A., *Use of the Elementary School Auditorium in Cities and Villages under Superintendents*, University of the State of New York Bulletin, No. 990, 1932.

² From an unpublished study, *The Community Use of School Buildings*, by S. A. Doody, Headmaster, Stevens High School, Claremont, N. H.

interest will be allowed in the school buildings. Citizen's associations, parent-teacher associations, mothers' clubs and Boy and Girl Scout organizations will be allowed use of the buildings for their meetings without payment of fees.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. A newly elected chairman of the city board of education of Boston, in discussing the things he hoped the board would accomplish, suggested "Bi-monthly meetings between parents and teachers, to acquaint each body with the ideas of the other. Movies, lectures and entertainment to stimulate parental interest in public education." Is such a proposal practicable in a city with 369 school buildings? What means can you suggest for accomplishing the same purposes?
2. In the report of a recent study of the schools of New York City made by a special committee headed by the State Commissioner of Education, there is the following criticism: "The majority of principals are primarily interested and skilled in the more routinized administrative aspects of the work. They give relatively little attention to the community relationships of the school." To what extent did this seem to be true of principals you have known? Make five definite suggestions of things a principal could and should make it a policy of doing.
3. Two school board members, one an ex-mayor, recently entered the classroom of a high school teacher of literature in a New Hampshire city. Interrupting the class, which was studying *Silas Marner*, the ex-mayor asked why students were not being taught about distinguished New Hampshire and American citizens instead. When the teacher replied that she had no choice since *Silas Marner* was required reading in the state course of study, the ex-mayor retorted, "poppycock," and then proceeded to recite "Barbara Frietchie." The teacher became hysterical and was taken home. If you had been the teacher what would it have been best for you to do?
4. Assume you are responsible for inserting in the newspapers the September notice of the opening of schools in some small city or town with which you are well acquainted. Write out this notice in detail.
5. Suppose you were teaching in a school in your home community. Show in the case of a subject in which you have great interest how your teaching of it might utilize community materials and link up with community situations in educative ways.

6. In an editorial appearing in the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, April 21, 1932, there occurred this statement regarding the decreasing age of criminals: "It is easy to set it down to defects in our system of education, to our sensational novels and magazines, to gangster movies, to prohibition. All of these may be contributing causes, but whether taken separately or together they do not account for our veritable army of young criminals." What does then? Which of the above "causes" seems to be the most influential?

7. The following provisions are taken from the Code of Professional Ethics adopted by the New Hampshire State Teachers' Association.

As the teacher must necessarily stand *in loco parentis*, in rather large measure, the duty of teachers to parents is to seek their acquaintance, to co-operate with them in the education of their children, to become informed of the home life and conditions by friendly visits, and in all other respects to manifest an interest in the individual child. Above all, a teacher should be frank as well as sympathetic, in dealing with parents. Criticism by parents should be received with courtesy and patience.

The duty of teachers to the community is to be loyal to those in authority over them. In case of a conflict of educational ideals, between teachers and trustees or school boards, while they should recognize the fact that the school authorities must direct the general policy of the school, it is the duty of teachers to be loyal to their professional ideals, to protest against any violation of professional ethics, and in extreme cases to resign, stating their reasons to the community.

Are there any points in this section of the Code with which you disagree? Examine the Code of Ethics adopted by the National Education Association to see what provisions it has dealing with school community relationships.

8. A county Woman's Christian Temperance Union organization in Massachusetts had material dealing with the alleged evils of alcohol and tobacco printed on blotters which it wished the principal of a town high school to distribute to his students. The principal declined to put them into circulation and was charged by the president of the Union with not doing his part to educate the students under his care. Do you approve of his decision? Formulate the educational principles which should guide an administrator or teacher in deciding what usages of the school might be allowed for disseminating material for outside organizations.

SELECTED READINGS

“Critical Problems in School Administration,” *Twelfth Yearbook*, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, 1934, Chap. II.

Herein is proposed and described a local unit of school organization based upon community boundaries.

Graves, F. P. *The Administration of American Education*, The Macmillan Co., 1932, Chap. XXIII.

Discusses various types of local school units, including the community unit.

Hacker, L. W. “The County Community School Unit in Illinois,” *American School Board Journal*, 78 (March 1929), p. 44.

Proposes the division of counties into community units according to economic status, social and religious interests of people, topography, density and character of population, assessed valuation.

Hart, J. K. *Educational Resources of Village and Rural Communities*, The Macmillan Co., 1913, Chap. XV.

A storehouse of suggestions as to how the selection of curricular materials and methods of approach may utilize the life of the community.

Judd, C. H. *Education and Social Progress*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934, Chap. 6.

A lucid discussion of the rise of professional management of schools and of the disharmony between it and lay management representative of the community.

“A National Survey of School-Community Contacts,” *Eleventh Yearbook*, Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association, 1932, pp. 163-193.

A summary of data provided by over 1,000 schools dealing with the extent of school community contacts, agencies for making them, etc.

Neulen, L. N. "A Policy for Using School Buildings for Other than School Purposes," *American School Board Journal*, 88 (May 1934), pp. 29-30, 70.

Following a general discussion of problems of community use, specific recommendations are made for all the details of administration.

Overn, A. V. "A Sound Educational Organization for States of Small Population," *American School Board Journal*, 90 (March 1935), p. 14.

Advocates locating schools near center of natural communities of "automobile size," these to be determined by research like that of Garnett in Missouri.

Phelps, H. A. *Contemporary Social Problems*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932, Chap. XVIII.

A brief discussion of the traits and practices of delinquents and the factors associated with delinquency.

Reckless, W. C. and Smith, Mapheus. *Juvenile Delinquency*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932, Chap. VI.

Besides this chapter on school maladjustments and delinquency the student should extend his reading to other phases of the causes and corrective treatment.

Steiner, J. F. *Community Organization*, Century Co., 1925, Chap. IX.

The rise of the community-center movement and the wider use of school property, administrative practices and problems are discussed.

Thrasher, F. M. "Juvenile Delinquency and Crime Prevention," *Readings in Educational Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934, Vol. II, pp. 610-619.

Suggestions are made for a coordinated plan and organization to prevent or lessen delinquency.

Waller, W. *The Sociology of Teaching*, John Wiley and Sons, 1932, Chaps. IV, V.

These chapters provide excellent discussions of the sociological factors entering into the relation between the community, school and teachers.

Williamson, M. *The Social Worker in the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency*, American Association of Social Workers, 1935.

Highly recommended as giving teachers an insight into the nature of the services of certain types of social workers with whom he should be able to cooperate. Positions described are found in probation departments, juvenile courts, bureaus of policewomen, bureaus of crime prevention, in girls' bureaus.

Works, G. A. "Adaptation of Local School Administration to Rural Conditions," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XV (November 1929), pp. 574-580.

Defects of the usual rural school district are discussed and the community unit proposed as a means of remedying them.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN

The newspaper account which detailed every action and all important decisions of the annual meeting of a Vermont town of 4,800 population opened with these sentences:

The new Hartford High School auditorium which was voted at the 1934 annual town meeting was the scene of the annual town meeting of 1935, Tuesday March 5. The meeting opened at 9 o'clock and did not end until 4:45 p.m. with an hour and a half recess for dinner.

The thirty articles of the Warning were disposed of in a business-like manner, several of them calling forth heated discussion and finally were acted upon without much opposition. Explanations on various matters were called for and duly and satisfactorily given by those questioned.

Ballot was called for on one occasion, and a hand count on another. And when all was said and done the voters put in a whole day of voting "aye" to all the appropriations asked in the Warning except that of \$800.00 in article 25, which was passed over.¹

Each citizen had the opportunity to hear the officers of the town report on the performance of their duties. Although the number of issues, "the thirty articles," upon which he would be called to vote was large, he had the chance to hear them explained, to ask questions, to participate in discussion before his decision would be called for. Furthermore, the published Warning had listed all of these issues a week or so before the meeting so that there was time for the citizens to put their heads together and to think matters over.

Such procedure, except for the multiplicity of issues, harks back to the period of more simple government in our pre-

¹ From *The Landmark*, March 7, 1935, p. 1.

industrial years. The scope of government whether local, state or national was rather narrow and less complex. Since the issues were fewer, they could receive more consideration from the voters and the will of the voters when expressed was less subject to misinterpretation and had more of a mandatory note for the town officers. Generalization must not be carried too far, but for the relatively smaller part of the life of the citizen—which was expressed through political action—participation itself, informal and political party education provided a considerable amount of guidance. In the integrated life of today governmental functioning must be more pervasive and ramified and the older means of education are less adequate for intelligent citizenship. Consideration of what kind of education is needed, however, will have to wait upon an examination of the nature of government and of the state for which it is an agent.

NATURE OF THE NATIONAL STATE

The state may be thought of as the organ set up to govern and protect the people within a given territory. Its plan of organization and its function as government are such as to imply that it is the people's supreme social institution. Nevertheless, it should be noted that actually its direct reference is to the institutionalized political aims of society as distinguished from many other types of purposes, be they educational, religious, economic, recreational or what not of its constituent people. Theories of the origin of the state differ and are treated by political science, but it is evident that man's political practices, like any other institutional activities, have arisen out of fundamental needs which he thereby attempts to satisfy. He seeks a means of regulating conflicting individual and group interests for the common good, he seeks justice in social arrangements, he seeks security for a life of order within the state's society and security with respect to his interests in his relations with the people of other states.

The state then is the association of people for the attainment

of these satisfactions and finds tangible form in the political arrangements of government, political parties and laws. From this it is clear that these institutions must be regarded not as ends in themselves to be cherished in a particular form as intrinsically valuable but as means of expressing the public will and securing its political ends. Their usefulness may be judged then by the service they render in expressing the collective opinion of the people, and not by any other characteristic. It should be expected that government operations will change with social conditions at large.

This is but another way of saying that the state and all its agencies are but the crystallization of the beliefs, sentiments and practices of a given society. These are part of the societal culture, a part which is concerned with providing better control over nature and human association. And like all other non-material culture traits they have their real existence in the mind and are perpetuated only as their elements are transmitted to outcoming generations. But the fact that they must be transmitted if they are to survive must not blind us to their essential character as instruments of human desires. Also, like other elements of culture in that, once created, they tend to become traditional and binding in their control of man the creator, so do the state and its agencies of government, political parties and laws, resist change. The government which arose as a means of freeing men from certain dominations may of itself become still more oppressive in other directions.

Governmental institutions are the cultural arrangements through which individuals and groups express only part of their activities, those of a political nature; yet through no others are the collective wishes expressed in such an authoritative form. With minor exceptions, only government is permitted to exercise force if necessary to maintain control. Informal control is established through the socializing influences of many institutions upon the individual personality, but government emphasizes formal and direct control through laws. To it is entrusted the widest supervision and regulation of diverse in-

dividual and group activities. The state defines the relations that individuals and groups shall sustain to it and, within limits, to each other. In a democracy this definition is, of course, based upon the public will; in an autocracy upon the will of the dominating few. Unlike other institutions, the state and its agent, government, are held responsible by the people for whatever happens that is deemed detrimental to the common good. Especially in a democratic state do the people look to it for the ultimate obtainable in the even-handed dispensing of justice. Other institutions are expected to reflect vested interest in public relations, but not so the state. Finally, unlike other institutions, the state is charged with supreme responsibility in conserving the important interests of its citizens in relation to other states. Because of such facts it is hopeless to attempt a final statement of the limits within which government action should be circumscribed. They necessarily will vary from one period to another.

The Democratic State. The most distinctive characteristic of the state in this country is that it is democratic. But despite the recognition of this fact as a truth many persons are not certain of its full meaning. It may perhaps be somewhat vaguely connected, in the minds of some, with the freedom of opportunity it permits, for example, for the employee to marry his boss's daughter. It is associated in the common mind with universality of the right to vote, despite the fact that there are considerable limitations upon this in actual practice. Or the feature most significant to some is the public school system which opens its doors to all. Yet how democratic is an education which turns out gangsters and individualists without social consciousness?

This suggests that it is difficult to identify democracy with any particular social practice or institution without running the risk of question or contradiction. The difficulty of giving any final description leads Kulp to say that the residual essence of democracy lies in the "power to overthrow rulers through

elections without the necessity of violent or bloody revolutions and the setting up of new or different governments as we are able."¹ Such a narrow formulation hardly proves satisfying even to the student of government and he prefers to attempt a somewhat more explicit statement of features, something along this line: First, it is a government in which the masses exercise sovereignty in the determination of policies and in the selection of officials, for it is conceived to be the agency for political expression of all and not of the few. As a consequence, to the extent that the people actually do control, governmental operation inclines toward the principle that all have the right to enjoy the essential satisfactions of life. Another consequence is that such a government tends to be responsive to the will of the public and it is possible to fix official responsibility and require accounting for action. Democracy also seems to imply that there shall be publicity for governmental processes so that the scrutiny by interested parties will serve as a check on malfeasance in office.

But students have rightly asserted that democracy in this country has come to mean something more than the manner in which political activity is governed. It has been called a mode of life, an attitude with which we face social problems. True, its first conspicuous appearance here was in connection with political institutions. The concepts of the eighteenth century liberals of the unique worth of the individual and his great potentialities were typical of the idealism expressed in the Declaration of Independence and by our great political leaders since that time. We treasure as symbolic of our spirit such affirmations as that this is a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. But though the first tentative effort for democracy was in part capitalized through political institutions and has with the passage of the years been ever more fully realized through them, it cannot be thought to have its chief existence in them.

That it has grown into something more is in no little measure

¹ Kulp, D. H., *op. cit.*, p. 354.

due to the influences of frontier living. Where birth and prestige were of little avail, the solid worth of a man or woman, a boy or girl, might more easily reveal itself. The more artificial, socially fostered standards which divide men were displaced under the necessities of elemental living, and the individual, on the one hand, was permitted freedom of an undreamed of extent and opportunity for social experimentation; on the other, he was driven to recognize that at points he must curb his freedom in the interest of the common good. The rapid development of the frontier was eloquent testimony that the average man had within him potentialities for sturdy independence and self-reliance and went far to justify the faith that the earlier liberals had in him. (There was of course a degenerative influence also at times.) Thus there grew up a spirit favorable to shaping social arrangements in such a way that they would foster individual development and grant equality of opportunity.

In this present century there has been more wide-spread recognition of what our brash young industrial system was doing to the workers; the fact that to a greater or lesser extent his interests, desires and development were being submerged by machinery and impersonal relations. • The democratic spirit has found some expression in attempts to personalize the worker, to treat him as an end in himself not merely as a means to production. The difficulty of accomplishing this in any thorough-going manner was seen in a previous chapter to lie in the weighting that the industrial system gives economic values as opposed to human values. Nevertheless, various partially corrective measures have made their appearance in recent years under the inclusive term of industrial democracy. In some such ways aspects of the democratic way of life came to be found in other social institutions besides those political, so that we may think of our society itself as partially realizing the democratic ideal.

If democracy then is not something to be identified with particular institutions as previously asserted, but is a concept of the manner of living which we are seeking to realize, an attitude toward the individual and his relation to society, how then

may its characteristics be summarized? They seem to include the following: a belief that the individual should have opportunity for the development of his potentialities and for the enjoyment of the fundamental satisfactions of life; a belief that individuals can and should be allowed a large measure of freedom for this development and be trusted to avoid its abuse because of their capacity for the mutual recognition of interests; a belief that social institutions should function so as to promote the interests of all persons; a belief that institutions must, therefore, be under the control of the common man and subject to change by him when public thought holds that change will increase their serviceability; a belief that the average man is capable of assuming the responsibilities implied by the foregoing faiths.

This belief in the competency of the common man for a large measure of self-direction and socially intelligent behavior has been challenged by the aristocratically inclined of every age whether they be monarchists, hereditarians, the social elite, the intelligensia or those Americans affected by what Gregory Mason calls a hemispheric inferiority complex, who worship European cultural traditions rather than our own democratic ones. An interesting presentation of the deterministic view is made by Finney who assumes upon the basis of the results of intelligence testing that the masses of the population are too dull for any sort of intellectual independence. He, therefore, counsels that the safety of democracy is to be found in their intellectual dependence. The problem then is to indoctrinate the masses with the kinds of beliefs that are consistent with democracy; beliefs, however, which are constantly revised in the light of the latest knowledge. School application is to "teach the *what*, memoriter, to all; but to the bright teach also the *why*."¹ There is much sociological truth in the statement that all need to be taught the *what* but it is questionable procedure to limit the stimulating *whys* to those already accustomed to this kind of thinking.

There are several replies to all such views and one is historical.

¹ Finney, R. L., *op. cit.*, pp. 387-396.

In societies where the common man has been treated as competent and has been given freedom and opportunity for development, history records his measurable progress in better self-direction and more intelligent social behavior. The ages in which he appears least competent are those in which he is assumed to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water capable neither of vision for the present nor of appreciation for a better future. Another answer comes from consideration of the data of social psychology sketched in the second chapter. It was shown there that what the normal man became depended not so much on traits of inherited nature as upon how he was influenced by environment and what the environment was which supplied the influences. This is not to deny the inheritance of organic capacity, but to deny that the capacities for self-direction and intelligent social behavior in the average man depend directly upon and are in proportion to his heredity. Rather they are developed in us by human association and its culture. Both our capacity for this kind of learning and what we become through it thus depend upon these factors of the social order and thus the democratic faith in some potentiality for improvement is no will-of-the-wisp or wish-fulfillment adjustment or vain delusion. It provides as realized the social arrangements necessary for the elevation of the individual, and these may be increasingly capitalized by the individuals of successive generations.

TRENDS IN GOVERNMENT

Trends in government at all levels—national, state and local—are significant for social life and thus for education. Four of these may be briefly noted here: expansion of governmental activity, specialization and professionalization, centralization and growth of nationalism.

Expansion of Governmental Activity. A number of factors have been operative, over the years, leading to the enlargement of the sphere of the state and its governing functions. Here again are to be noted the marks of that transformation which

has taken place in our society during the last several decades. The growth of modern science and knowledge, of all our technology, has made change in government possible and has created a demand for it. Public knowledge and thought about the services which these new developments have made possible have fathered the wish to have them and have suggested government as the social institution best fitted to make them available. Further, if society is to benefit from technological processes there must be relative stability for their operation, which in turn places a premium on increased governmental control. On the other hand, we have traced in connection with economic life the consequences to the individual and society of industrialization. For the former, life is made more hazardous and uncertain, while he needs protection against business cycles, accidents, sickness, old age, and the conditions of city living—protections in earlier days either not required or else cared for adequately by other institutions than government. For society there is greater need of conservation of natural resources, of protection from ill health and epidemics, of harmonious trade relations with other governments, of regulation of communication and transportation, etc. Moreover, groups of citizens have realized the possibilities of obtaining services desired by them through government sponsorship and have organized to exert pressure to this end. Thus for many reasons an expansion of functioning was inevitable although it has not gone so far as in European countries, not even excluding England.

The total cost of government, federal, state and local, in terms of 1915 dollars doubled between that year and 1929, but per capita costs in the same dollars was only two-thirds greater at the end of the period.¹ During the closing years of the last century and the first decade of this, much of the expansion of federal governmental activity was concerned with the regulation of railroads, corporations and trusts and banking. Since that time there has been some extension of social control in

¹ Wooddy, C. H., "The Growth of Governmental Functions," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 1324-1330.

these spheres and new forms initiated in the fields of power, interstate trade, the radio and air transportation. The big expansion, however, since 1915, as measured by federal expenditures, has been in the provision of various services for the public and for business and in higher military costs. The last were involved with the great and increasing burden of providing pensions, hospital care and compensation for war veterans. The most notable addition to federal civil functions came through the promotion of aeronautics, radio, the postal service, merchant marine and agriculture, while grants to education, conservation, highway construction and maintenance accounted for lesser increases. The extensive enforcement of federal penal legislation represents another area of growth. A summary view of the trend is contained in the estimates given by Woody that "perhaps one-third of the actual types of administrative work carried on by the federal government in 1930 had not been authorized prior to 1915" and that "perhaps more than one-half of the growth of federal administration can be ascribed to these newer types of work."

With state governments the great expansion of activity in recent decades has been concerned with four functions of which the first two received the greatest attention: highways, education, recreation and conservation and development of natural resources. An increasing share of the cost of education prior to the depression was being borne by local governments. The latter also did not permit as large a relative decline in the importance of public welfare and health activities as did the other governmental levels. In cities, actually, a number of new health functions appeared, while provision of recreational facilities was pushed more actively than by the states. In the main, however, the growth of state and city governments has been through the expansion of older activities rather than in the introduction of new ones.

Specialization and Professionalization. As the effects of social changes began to make themselves increasingly felt and gov-

ernmental functions began to multiply, the movement found administrative organization poorly prepared to meet the situation. Rural local government with its large number of elected officials and loose organization is still in this condition. As the specialization wrought by technological advance proceeded, whichever governmental units were the more adaptable underwent corresponding changes and themselves became more specialized. Officials giving full time to their work and trained in their particular duties became necessary. Moreover, pressure has been exerted to effect greater efficiency and obtain more service for the tax dollar expended. In nation and state more responsibility has been concentrated in the hands of chief executives who have been aided in specialized functions through the work of multifarious bureaus, staff officials, boards and departments. To some extent there has been a tendency to select men for their work by their qualifications and merit rather than because of political considerations. Budgetary control and administration in nation and states and even in cities have tightened central business management. In cities centralization of responsibility has taken the form of strengthening the powers of the mayor or making use of a city manager or council.

In truth, government at any level today is the most complex business in the world, as a moment's consideration of the range of functions and services will suggest. Small wonder then that many more scientifically and professionally trained men do not find places in government service than in the past; but there is reason to think that with any spread of civil service classifications or without such benefit the number will increase with the years. In 1896, of the 178,717 federal positions, only 3,620, or 2 per cent, were of a professional or semi-professional or scientific nature. By 1931 the number had risen to 33,779, or 5.7 per cent, of the total of 588,815 employees.¹

The expansion and specialization of governmental functions has caused the total number of people in government employ to

¹ White, L. D., "Public Administration," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 1414.

multiply greatly; this in itself constitutes a problem. Besides the numerous appointive positions which at the federal level have rapidly increased in the last few years, the number of elective officials is placed at about three-quarters of a million.

Centralization. Accompanying the expansion of government is the tendency of some units to gain at the expense of others. Those units which were most effective in meeting the rising demands for services found a ready means of enhancing their powers in so doing. Thus the states have greatly increased their ascendancy over local governments, cities over rural and the federal over all. When centralization is mentioned the most frequent thought is of the transfer of functions from smaller to larger units. The ascendancy of the state over local government has taken place in considerable measure—though not completely in this way. On the other hand, a unit may come to have a larger balance of power through assuming new responsibilities heretofore exercised by no other unit. It was seen that a considerable portion of the expansion of federal government has been of this nature, especially in the fields of transportation, communication, trade, employment, etc. It seems probable that had there been a different constitutional relationship between it and the states the latter would have suffered more transference of their functions than took place prior to 1932. Since that year, because of the economic emergency, Congressional legislation and administrative action have stepped over state boundaries in a number of respects, though the constitutionality has been questioned.

In the earlier years of this century an effective means by which the federal government gained authority at the expense of the states was through the policy of conditional grants of aid. In the previous century federal aid to the states had usually been extended in connection with grants of public land and relatively few strings had been attached. With land no longer available, aid necessarily took the form of money and certain conditions were usually imposed upon the states, as, for instance,

the requirement that the state must match the gift with the appropriation of equal sums, submit to federal scrutiny both their plans for expenditure and the actual execution of projects, and face loss of the aid if they failed to meet the conditions specified by federal authority. Notable grants of this nature have been made for agricultural extension education, vocational education, conservation, highways and maternity hygiene—which last has been discontinued. While one of the primary effects of these conditional grants has been to stimulate state governmental activity in fields neglected or only partially occupied by them, there can be no gainsaying the fact that states have, to a greater extent than ever before, come under the domination of some federal agency. Those familiar with the administration of vocational education can supply many examples.

At the same time the ineffectiveness of local government to cope with the new problems had led to considerable transfer of authority to the states, especially in the administration and supervision of education, the supervision and regulation of health and sanitation, the construction and maintenance of highways, penal care, regulation of public utilities, and state limitation and regulation of local finance. This trend toward centralization within the states seems destined to go much further, although, offsetting it, there has been a movement, on a smaller scale, for home rule of cities.

Nationalism. A final trend in the life of the state and of its agent, government, which is significant for education is the growing nationalism. Nationalism, like democracy, is an attitude which may find expression in various practices, beliefs, and forms of organization. Unlike democracy it has come, almost invariably, to have a part in raising barriers between men, of creating distrust between men of different states.

Students of history usually speak of nationalism as arising in the efforts of kings to build up their authority throughout definite national boundaries in the early centuries following the

revival of trade and the rise of cities after 1200. In their struggles these monarchs had both to gain the ascendancy over powerful feudal lords, other kings and the Universal Church. The common people were pawns in the numerous wars but could hardly be said to have much patriotic spirit toward the national states which were thus being put together. The powers of the kings had increased to the point that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these states were the dominant political organizations.

The liberal thought of the late eighteenth century was of a different hue. From its point of view the welfare of the common man was as much the concern of society as the aggrandizement of monarchs. The common man was held to be clothed with the same inalienable rights, and if he was ignorant and depraved the fault was held to be with social institutions rather than with the divine plan. This humanitarian attitude did not know national boundaries but looked to the betterment of men everywhere. Following its open expression in the revolution of France, there was some disillusionment and the forces of conservatism and opposition again came to the fore. The danger of defeat by other nations lighted the flame of national spirit in the hearts of many Frenchmen before unaffected by patriotism toward the state. Threats to other nations, real or imagined, were turned to advantage by their rulers for the cultivation of patriotism among the common people, or actually gave birth to it without special guidance. In countries like France and Prussia the schools became a definite part of the plan for inculcating nationalistic ideas. Ideas of economic independence, and to some extent religious training, aided in the development.

Thus throughout the nineteenth century political and cultural nationalism continued to grow, although during some of these years the economic aspect was not so evident; for despite tariffs and trade treaties, the exchange of goods between nations proceeded on something of an international plane. Since the World War, however, every aspect has developed in the direction of a more intensified nationalism—in respect to which this

country is no exception. It is true that our foreign policy under Wilson assumed international viewpoints but this was succeeded by the withdrawal within our national shell under Harding. Since that time there have been various international conferences upon world problems but we, like other nations, are charting our course with an eye to economic independence. Meanwhile the attempts have redoubled internally to utilize various phases of our culture to magnify nationalistic goals.

PROBLEMS OF THE STATE AND OF GOVERNMENT

It is beyond the province of this work to do more than state several of the problems which confront us in the political activities of our lives in the United States. Some of these the student will already have visualized as growing out of the trends just discussed or out of the nature of the state.

In the first place there is the education of the citizen, long recognized as a crucial problem and eloquently stated as early as the days of DeWitt Clinton. In a society in which the governments depend to any extent upon the will of the people, the people must be socially and politically intelligent. There must also be the sense of civic responsibility. In the previous century when the scope of governmental activity was less and the view was more popular that the government was best which governed least, less formal instruction was necessary. Informal means and the activities of political parties served better than at present to acquaint persons with the issues with which government dealt. Thus the faith of that day in the adequacy of common school education for citizenship was not so far misplaced as present critics imply. All the changes since that time, however, render the older types and means of citizenship education ineffectual. Just as political institutions face new responsibilities, so formal education is confronted with the determination of the best means of preparing prospective citizens for participation in them.

Our form of representative democracy makes it possible to have full time governmental employees and specialization of

function. These advantages carry concomitant dangers. The complexity of the problems to be met has resulted in recent years in increasing the powers of the chief executives in governmental units. This has seemed both wise and somewhat inevitable, but there remains the question of how the exercise of these powers of the executives can be controlled in the interest of the public. Thus far the recall constitutes about the only check. This places an added premium upon a sagacious selection by the voters at the outset. The greater need for specialization of function has resulted also in the setting up of numerous bureaus and departments at every governmental level—local, state, federal. These decrease the ease of placing responsibility for acts and make corruption easier. They may function at the behest of special interest groups rather than for the public. No adequate means for control of bureaucracy as yet exists. Another disadvantage of representative forms is that they may make government somewhat slow in responding to the will of the people even though their ultimate responsiveness may be greater than that of other forms. This fact as well as the nature of such a system makes the elected representatives highly susceptible to the influence of organized lobbying and hidden pressure in securing legislation. This, coupled with the wide scope of present state control, may have far-reaching effects. For example, there has been the open pressure exerted by the American Bar Association upon state legislatures to enact laws requiring the teaching of the Constitution of the United States in public schools. At the outset of the campaign in 1923 only twenty-three states had such a requirement, whereas in 1930 the number was forty-three.¹ The use of such a plan to enforce even a worthy object by an organization with the prestige of the Bar Association strengthens the precedent whereby some unprincipled organization or even subversive vested interest may accomplish its own aim.

Other problems arise out of the relations of the local, state and federal governments to each other. They all have some

¹ Judd, C. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 107-112.

needs in common, or some contribution they could make in respect to public health, crime, old age, poverty, labor of women and children, education, etc. There are other fields in which their problems differ. As a consequence there are difficulties of coordination and overlapping of function. The constitutions and court decisions are the guides to federal and state powers. The states are not administrative units of the national government and may and do chart their own courses within the above limitations. As previously seen, much of the increased authority recently acquired by the national government has been voluntarily relinquished by the states so that they might take advantage of federal aid. Constitutionally, federal jurisdiction over intrastate affairs is largely limited to the fields of commerce and taxation, but court interpretations have permitted extensions in other directions. Likewise, relations between state and local governments are at present marked by a certain amount of friction, overlapping or failure to articulate in the meeting of public needs. For example, in the case of education our consideration of local versus state responsibility in a previous chapter showed several untoward results for the work of the schools. The general relation of government to education will be referred to later.

Laws themselves constitute a problem and often make evident the lack of articulation of our three levels of government. In a society of any complexity laws become quite important. They are by nature but the statements of the principles which appear best to order expeditiously the relations between individuals and conserve the general welfare. They provide guides to conduct, the effects of which would otherwise frequently escape individual observation in a culture of many contacts. They make for an orderly society. They have a punitive side, but regardless of the sanctions on which they rest, their essential character as aids to the individual should not be overlooked. Instead, the danger is that they like other cultural elements may come to be regarded as ends in themselves and so be preserved after the conditions which gave them birth have passed. It has been

estimated that of the some 2,400,000 laws listed in the United States at least 400,000 are obsolete. The reader may well develop further through his own reflection other problems presented by the legal expression of the powers of the state.

RELATION OF GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

One of the most characteristic features of the educational system of the United States is its relation to political institutions. The state through its agent, government, feels responsible for education and is the source of authority for it, but makes little attempt to administer it as a governmental function. There is need to be more specific.

Federal Relations. The national state is without constitutional prerogative in education, for education is one of the unnamed functions which through the Tenth Amendment is automatically reserved to the several states. Nevertheless, whether or not the motive has always been what it seemed, the federal government has from its earliest years made grants for the promotion of education. During the nineteenth century the existence of much public land made possible the various land grants through which education derived considerable encouragement. In the present century there came the money grants like that of the Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education. The effect of the federal regulations imposed upon states accepting grants has already been noted. While state activity in the fields involved was greatly stimulated there was also increasing federal domination. For a number of years after the World War bills were presented to Congress calling for still further extension of aid to the states for work in particular fields—Americanization, elimination of illiteracy, health education, teacher training. In connection with several of these bills was also the proposal to erect a Federal Department of Education in place of the present Office of Education in the Department of the Interior. Proponents of these bills called attention

to the real inequalities between states in financial resources, educational burdens and in progressiveness. And of course, much was made of the equally genuine importance of education in a nation such as ours. Opponents, while calling attention to the danger of stifling local initiative, the mechanical operation of bureaucratic control, or the inevitable increase in federal authority and expenditures with the passage of time, concentrated upon the threat of ultimate federal control in large measure of all education.

Congress failed to act upon the bills and eventually, during the Hoover administration, a National Advisory Committee on Education was appointed to study the relation of the federal government to education. Its recommendations favored continued federal aid, but "for education in general and not for specific phases of education," this aid to be distributed to the states on a purely objective basis and not subject to the discretion of a federal authority. It was further recommended that "in whatever way the Federal Government attempts to foster education among the States, whether by financial or intellectual assistance, it should not interfere with the determination by the States of the fundamental social purposes involved in actual direction and management of public schools." Although the creation of a Department of Education was recommended, any subtraction from the powers of the states was precluded as being both unconstitutional and contrary to public interest in the light of experience.

Since the time of this report federal emergency aid has been widely extended and education has benefited, but many feel that along with it there has been an unfortunate amount of national supervision against which there must be constant guard. The trend is clearly toward greater federal responsibility but whether this will result in eventual control in the future remains to be seen. How such control may be used is indicated in some of the measures now employed by state governments in seeking to administer education directly as a political function.

State Relations. In general, however, states do not administer their schools through their political agencies, but delegate these functions to people giving full time to education. The authority resides with the people of a state to make, through its legislature, any arrangement they see fit and they have tended to separate schools from government, even at the local levels. There is a tendency within states to concentrate increasingly their school regulation and supervision in a non-political group of educational officials, the state department of education. At the same time much of the actual administration is left in the hands of local boards. This departmental control is a temptation to the vested interests within a state to attempt to gain their own ends through lobbying and the use of political influence. To the extent to which state control is realized, any result secured by lobbies will be universalized; thus the inherent weakness in great centralization of authority. By and large, however, state departments of education seek to avoid being used by these pressure groups or for political purposes.

There is an opposite trend toward direct and detailed legislation through the legislatures. This is entirely within their competency as established in the courts, being "subject only to restrictions that may be in the (state) constitution."¹ Potential danger lies in the questionable manner in which legislatures sometimes employ their great power. Legislative requirement of the teaching of the federal constitution is one example. The laws sought and secured did not leave to the determination of school authorities whether it should be taught as a separate course or in connection with history and civics, but specified it as a separate course just as the American Bar Association insisted. Further, in twenty-seven states in 1930, the time or grade in which it should be taught was specified by law. Observance of twenty-one special days, such as Washington's Birthday or Good Roads Day, is required in one or more states. There are a score of enactments which deal with patriotism or

¹ Hamilton, O. T., *The Courts and the Curriculum*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 250, Columbia University, 1927, p. 151.

nationalism. Some years ago the forty-eight states had enacted nearly a thousand statutes in respect to the emphasis of this or that during the time of the school day. Between 1903 and 1923 the prescriptions increased from 564 to 926 or by about 65 per cent. Those dealing with four topics, conservation of life and property, humaneness, practical and cultural subjects, and nationalism more than doubled during the period.¹ Recent laws have frequently included provisions which would insure their being carried out.

The increase in prescriptions and their detailed natures does not represent in most cases the general feeling of the people but rather the desires of groups who, through organized pressure, can carry out their wishes. Of course, legislation affecting all pupils should be scrutinized from the standpoint of public interest as well as those of our increasingly active pressure groups, but legislators feel the influence of the latter keenly. The significance of the post-war activity of such organizations is indicated by the fact that the American Historical Association made this one of the matters for special study in connection with its investigation of the social studies. In gathering materials for the study it was necessary to include more than 200 organizations whose activity at points related to the instruction in the schools. These organizations embrace many types: patriotic, military, peace, religious, business, social, movements of youth, political, fraternal, prohibition, anti-prohibition, etc.²

Another feature of these detailed legal prescriptions is their failure to provide for increases in the length of the school day, for additional funds, or to take into account the energy of teachers; nor do they permit the elimination of some other subject or element of program to make room for the new. As Judd says, "The legislatures should define in very broad, general terms the policies of education which it is willing to support

¹ Flanders, J. K., *Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 195, Columbia University, 1925, Chap. X.

² Pierce, B. L., *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*, Scribner's, 1933.

and should leave in the hands of the state department of education the adjustment of details."¹ This should not, however, be interpreted as a vote of confidence that a high degree of centralization in the state department is an unalloyed good.

EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The school in a democracy may be likened to a melting pot. Walter Lippmann describes a Fourth of July pageant in the course of which individuals representing many nationalities and dressed in native costume entered a huge wooden and canvas pot under the guidance of an elementary school principal. At the call of the latter they emerged from the opposite side of the pot, each uniformly dressed in derby, coat, pants, vest, stiff collar and polka-dot tie and probably with an Eversharp pencil in the pocket. Perhaps this is symbolic of our need for a community of viewpoints but those in this country who at heart really distrust democracy are likely to see mainly a "leveling down" import. It is this problem of the general character of education with which we must here deal. A later section discusses citizenship education.

In a democratic society, the schools are far more than agencies for the training of the type of citizen desired by government. In the first place the static attitude toward government is out of place, for in a democracy government is regarded as the agent of all the people to serve them in their political needs and to be responsive to their will. With the spread of the democratic concept this attitude has been applied to other institutions and to human relations at large. This concept of institutions as the agents implies that the supreme values reside in man. Thus a central element in the democratic attitude is the belief that the individual shall have opportunity for the development of his potentialities and for the enjoyment of the fundamental satisfactions. Freedom for this development and a sharing of the good things of life are integral parts of this view.

Not only do schools play the instrumental role expected of

¹ Judd, C. H., *op. cit.*, p. 106.

all institutions but we look upon them as special agencies upon which we depend for major help in making our democratic purpose for society ever more nearly a reality. Their service is vital to making the dream come true and they of all institutions have the largest opportunity to render it.¹

Since in a democracy the individual has no pre-arranged place to fill in society the school has the difficult task of preparing him so he can make a place in which living will be satisfying and his best contribution to the general good be made. In order to do this the school needs to divorce itself from domination by any existing class, for the latter inevitably seeks the preservation of its class status and will use the schools to this end. Present administrative arrangements and the curricular materials carry some vestiges of their earlier functioning for preparing the individual for a particular place. Teachers are sometimes also charged with approaching their work from a patronizing class spirit as if their objective were "lifting young people *out* of the plebeian status of their parents" as Finney termed it. Consequently there is some truth in the assertion that public schools at present continue to foster class consciousness.

Because the public school exists to serve all the people a differentiated offering is inevitable. Opportunity for the development of potentialities will mean different things to different pupils. It also means that our ladder system of schools whereby an individual may go on to successively higher levels as his interest and progress permit is right, although there is no implication that most people should be expected to climb all the rungs of the ladder, certainly not until it offers more differentiation at the higher levels than at present. This suggests, of course, the glaring lack of even the present type of educational facilities in many quarters, but more of this kind of education would not necessarily promote democracy.

In the third place, since progress in a democratic society depends upon the common man even if only to a limited extent

¹ Bode, Boyd H., *Modern Educational Theories*, Macmillan, 1927, Chap. X.

in actual practice, it is evident that the masses need to be intelligent about social problems, need to be able to think correctly about them. This is not to say that all will or can think equally well, but only that it is necessary to encourage thinking in the faith that it does improve in societies which afford it the opportunity. For the school then to encourage pupils to think as well as to supply them with the results of the thinking of experts is but a logical procedure in the light of the democratic belief in the potentiality of the average person. Yet some distrust both the belief and any attempt by the school to seek its realization because it is said that there results a leveling down of our culture and performance to the standard of the masses. According to this dead-level theory special ability and strong personality will thus be engulfed. Individuality will give way to mediocre uniformity, for the masses are said to prize equality rather than distinction. Exponents of the theory are also usually skeptical of much possibility of improving the masses. Earlier in this chapter answers were given from history and social psychology to this last point. Regarding the former contention Cooley's answer may be given: there is nothing in the democratic spirit or organization essentially hostile to distinguished personalities. In fact they are being produced, although, for other reasons, perhaps not as many as were produced during periods of less rapid change. Periods of stability are more conducive to their development.

Finally, a society which depends upon cooperative action must have citizens who can and will cooperate. To this end schools must not only not foster class consciousness and divisive distinctions of all sorts but must give positive support to integrating factors. In Chapter VII means of doing this through the organization of schools and the mode of grouping pupils in classes were mentioned. Certain elements of the program of the schools may help as much or more in providing bases for mutual understanding and shared activities, but these are a part of what is commonly thought of as civic education and will be considered in the next section.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

The realization of the democratic ideal constitutes the more inclusive objective of civic education. That ideal does not picture definitely the political arrangements which will serve it at any given time in the future nor is it expressed in final form in the governmental institutions now existing in this country. But its spirit is one of the vital forces which contributed to the molding of these institutions and finds partial expression through them. This suggests the direction instruction should take, for "attachment to the American nation and to the general principles of the democratic principles will be the basis of civic education."¹ This position frankly accepts it as correct and logical for the school to instill useful and desirable sentiments of attachment for this our country, and belief in democratic institutions as means for improving the common life and for distributing the "gains of civilization." Thus civic education finds the political values which it seeks to share with pupils in the principles of democracy. It has the dual role of helping pupils to appreciate and appropriate as the basis for their own conduct the central elements of our culture and, at the same time, of avoiding the blind emotional reverence for the past which is inimical to the adaptation needed for survival. There must be open-mindedness as well as devotion. Another dual role is that of developing love for our country and a truly democratic regard for the good of men everywhere. Whether these understanding attitudes toward other nations be prompted by genuine concern for their welfare or not, trends toward closer international integration make their achievement absolutely essential. A civic education which rises no higher than an intense nationalism will sow seeds of strife, sorrow and misery which will flower for generations to come. The kind of society in which we now live requires as never before science and intelligence if human personality is to grow to its fullest stature or

¹ Merriam, C. E., *Civic Education in the United States*, Scribner's, 1934, Part VI, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, p. 42.

be preserved from misdirection. Thus there must be progressive attitudes toward the new.

And it is to the social science division of the curriculum to which we look especially for help with the new type of civic education. But no greater mistake is made than to feel that this responsibility is its alone. All teachers must feel that their work is to contribute toward equipping the child with what Judd calls "civilized ideas and civilized methods of thinking and behavior." Nevertheless, the materials and teaching situations connected with community civics, history, geography, civic biology, economics, sociology and kindred subjects offer many of the school's best opportunities for acquainting pupils with the nature of the democratic heritage, with the problems which must be solved by group effort and for arousing intelligent appreciation of the values which underlie our mode of group life, especially in its political relations.

It should be clear that merely a separate course in government does not fill the bill. Nor will the social studies as traditionally organized and taught prove highly valuable. Repeatedly in recent years attention has been called to such defects as their encyclopedic proliferation of detail, over-logical presentation, over-treatment of the past with under-emphasis of the present and of the relation between the two, insufficient allotment of time to other social sciences than history, failure of the study to function in the formation of ideals and social attitudes.

Out of the welter of change new syntheses of older material and entirely new units are taking form so that the social science teacher today is able to find texts highly adapted to the modern emphases. The whole field is in a process of re-vamping, however, and much experimentation must necessarily be done both with subject-matter and methods.

The possibilities of civic education are only partly exhausted by the curricular approach, for school life provides many situations which may be productive of information and attitudes. Many of the values of extra-curricular activities—at least their potential values—have been said to be of this nature. Devices

for securing student participation in government would seem to be especially useful. This is no place for an extended treatment of the pros and cons. Limited student government can work successfully, as the experience of many schools testifies. It exists in various forms from homeroom organizations to those including the entire school and with a council as the executive body.

Two thousand years ago in ancient Athens the young men took an oath of good citizenship upon terminating their minority. Today in New York City high school graduates are reminded of their responsibilities through a similar oath which is administered to those who prove themselves outstanding school citizens and leaders. It reads: "We will never bring disgrace to this our city by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks; we will fight for our ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many; we will revere and obey the city's laws and do our best to incite a like respect in those above us who are prone to annul and set them at naught; we will strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty. Thus, in all these ways, we will transmit this city not only not less but far greater and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. In his first inaugural address Abraham Lincoln stated: "This country with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember it or overthrow it." Do you believe that a people have the right to revolt against their government and overthrow it? Is any inconsistency involved in the expectation that the patriotic citizen will revere the principles contained in both the Declaration of Independence and the United State Constitution?

2. Explain what is meant by the "dead-level theory" as regards government and education. How much validity has it and what are its limitations?

3. Professor C. E. Merriam in *Civic Education in the United States*, names as essential elements of democracy: distrust of any irresponsible elite, acceptance of the principle of mass control, acceptance of the view that the gains of civilization depend upon the gains of the masses and thus should be distributed to all, belief that human happiness is best promoted by advancing the common man. Are these beliefs an expression of the characteristics of the concept of democracy actually accepted or of what it ideally should be?

4. Can government avoid "going into business" as living becomes increasingly technological in nature?

5. Are people ever exploited through governments today? Can you name any instances of this in this country?

6. What have been the compelling motives back of the various grants of land and money made by the federal government to education? To what extent have they been characterized by a genuine concern for education?

7. Opinions differ as to the worthwhileness of student government in the public schools. Summarize what seem to be the real advantages and disadvantages of having it either at elementary or secondary levels.

8. Commenting upon a bill introduced into the Massachusetts legislature requiring economics to be taught in the senior high schools of the state, an editorial in the *Boston Herald* of May 30, 1935, contained this paragraph: "Such laws reflect the recognition of educational needs, but the power exercised by the Legislature should be used always with discretion. Obviously the decision on the form of instruction, the details of any course, the amount of money to be used for it and the years in which it should be taught ought to be left to local school committees and the teachers themselves." Is this a correct statement of principle? Would you suggest any modification? Do you know of any violations of it in your own state? See Flanders, *Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum*.

9. One of the arguments in favor of an extended program of extracurricular activities is their potentiality for providing civic training which academic studies do not. Has this argument ever been validated? How valid do you think it is? Why?

10. The Ives Bill which became law in New York state in 1934 provides that every professor, instructor or teacher employed in any school, college or university in the state must subscribe to the following

declaration: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge, according to the best of my ability, the duties of the position to which I am now assigned." Are there any reasons for not requiring teachers to subscribe to such an oath?

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PART THREE
EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL PROGRESS: ITS MEANING AND POSSIBILITY

A professor of pedagogy, irritated over the fact that periodicals long since desired for reference assignments had not yet returned from the bindery to the university library, was once heard to remark, whether appropriately or not the reader may judge for himself, "They say education should lead? Why, it cannot even follow!" True enough, there are some school people who feel that if a better social order is to be achieved education must not only prepare youth for participation in it but should play a leading role in indicating what the new patterns should be. Others are just as certain that the nature of future social change is still essentially unpredictable and that school people are, therefore, without a basis for doing more than helping the child to be more intelligent about the world as we now have it. Others are impressed by the fact that although it might be possible to educate for an arbitrarily pre-designed social system, neither school people nor social leaders are able with finality to say that the desired social system is good, on the grounds that what is considered good is a matter of definition. And still others maintain that education can but express the views and aspirations of the dominant elements in a particular society and that school people are impotent to go far beyond these.

On the other hand, implicit in many of the considerations of the previous chapters were at least three assumptions: first, that a judgment was possible regarding the strength and weaknesses of present individual and group life; second, that the direction or even the nature of desirable future changes could be partially ascertained and foreseen; and third, that education might play some active part in bringing about the changes deemed desirable in the future. As a matter of fact, in the

analyses of family, recreational, economic, religious and civic life and of community affairs an attempt was made to discover wherein there was mal-functioning, what corrective measures seemed to be indicated and then to outline as far as possible the role of the school in amelioration.] Obviously there are areas of contradiction between some of the points of view referred to above and these assumptions of earlier chapters. [Not only is education affected by the issues raised but all forms of so-called constructive human effort, for these likewise assume that social change can be directed through social effort.]

We may as well acknowledge that one of the basic differences goes back to that persistent bone of contention in philosophy, determinism versus freedom. This issue appears in the biological sciences in the differences between the mechanistic and emergent evolutionists. In psychology, contending with the mechanistically inclined objective psychologists are those of the purposive point of view. It is only to be expected that students of social science will follow divergent lines of thought wherever this issue is in the background. Yet at the present the mechanistic scientists are having the better of the argument—at least they are considered to be displaying better form—and we may expect modern sociology to lean in this direction.

[Now, regardless of whether under human control or for better or worse, myriad social changes are continually occurring. In fact the one certain thing about change is that it is universal.] In discussing the growth of culture in Chapter I, it was noted that in early times the rate of change was relatively slow, whereas such factors as ease of communication, magnitude and character of existing cultures, large populations productive of more frequent inventive minds, the revolutionary character of some of the more recent inventions and others, have greatly accelerated change in recent times.] While in the main culture growth has had the appearance of a process of rather gradual accumulation, study shows it to have been at times spasmodic—some changes are revolutionary in their swiftness and

consequences. At times change is quite specific or again it may be general and widespread. Changes occur through invention or diffusion in some types of culture traits, the material for example, much more readily than in folkways, mores and institutionalized habits. This uneven development results in what Ogburn has termed cultural lag and constitutes a prolific source of problems. It is also apparent that cultural development has been unpremeditated and unplanned.

Because of this pyramiding of cultural changes, especially during the last century or two, it becomes important to enquire regarding the direction of change and its susceptibility to human control. Specifically those engaged in any form of social service need to consider the following questions: What is the origin of the notion of progress in relation to change? Is social change constantly making for the greater progress of mankind? How can we determine the nature of the changes which it would be desirable to make in the future? Is it possible so to control social change that desired changes will take place, or, differently expressed, is social planning possible? What is the part of the school in planned social change? Especially does the teacher of the present day, with the varying demands being made upon him, need to know what social science may say in answer to these questions. The first four will be discussed in the present chapter.

ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

Our Belief in Progress. Is it proper to consider that the stupendous changes of the last two centuries have been for the good of mankind and civilization? Such a question seems to the plain man to suggest an irresponsible or at least peculiar mentality on the part of the questioner rather than to raise genuine doubt about the direction of the main trend of social change. The common-sense view among us has accepted the belief in progress as one of the realities of existence and tends to regard the cumulative results of the transformations in science, commerce, mechanical invention, industry and intel-

lectual fields as ever fresh evidence that man is achieving a better and finer society.] Observe, for example, the attitudes of a group of people when the question of the future of the railroads comes into the conversation. All know of the fierce competition of the roads with trucks, busses and passenger cars but unless the individuals happen to be connected in some way with transportation by rail, most of them eventually will likely subscribe to some such sentiment as this: if motor transportation proves superior there is no more reason for lamenting the decline of the railways than there was for repining over the displacement of trolley cars by automobiles. Such is our belief in change making for progress. "The best man wins" is one of our folk sayings.

The optimism engendered by this type of belief has in part—it may also be a soporific—been a valuable encouragement to human effort in both this country and elsewhere. And, not unlike peoples of other national cultures, many Americans feel that we have a peculiar capacity for doing the things which are progressive. A reflection of this aspect of our common concept is seen, for example, in a phrase referring to a western state; this phrase is in the oath formerly required of all graduates of its state university and reads, "the state whose people are most blest with pioneering strengths."

Further, the common view that whatever else may be said, the changes in this country since colonial days mark a great advance toward a better social order, seems unchallengeable to the natural realist, and this is what the plain man is.] Did he not read for himself in his elementary school history of the rough and primitive modes of living of our ancestors and has he not even in his own lifetime seen great refinements in living? It hardly seems possible that the answer could be in the negative. The idea of progress thus seems intrenched in current folkways but this has not always been true.]

Rise of the Concept. Historical evidence points to the fact that the concept is a relatively modern development, so new.]

indeed that Case labels it as a Western notion. [Primitive men have lived in varying states of savagery, differing greatly, especially in ability to conceive the future and in foresight to provide against its needs or, on the other hand, in their sense of their past. Generalizations are hardly ever safe, not even this one, as a noted Frenchman said. Yet it would seem that, by and large, for primitive men time is of the present tense and the precariousness of living occupies the greater part of this along with the major part of his efforts.]

Nor did the thinkers of ancient Greece in their speculation on man and the universe hit upon this idea of progress which to us seems so obvious.¹ Although here and there there was recognition that men had earlier lived in savagery and that some amelioration of these conditions had been brought about by their ancestors, nevertheless, the prevailing view was that the main trend was one of degeneration from the earliest period of human life. It was then that men were supposed to have been most happy even though more simple. The world as originally created was perfect. The changes which had occurred since that "golden age" were thought for the most part retrogressive, and thus the Greek looked with suspicion upon all change instead of welcoming it, as is customary for "moderns." [Lacking the requisite history to provide a different perspective and dominated by the dream of a better past and suspicious of change, important conditions were the antithesis of those needed for the development of the doctrine of progress. The extension of Roman rule did not alter these conditions to any degree.]

During the long centuries of the spread of Christianity on into the Middle Ages, a new view of human effort came to prevail. While Christianity embraced the doctrine of man's degeneration from a previous state of innocence it also taught that the entire course of human events formed a sequence leading to the final perfection in the next world of some of the

¹ Bury, J. B., *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth*, Macmillan, 1920, pp. 8-20. This work, true to its title, is a detailed genetic study of the idea.

population. The efforts of the individual were judged worthy or not with reference to their bearing upon his future salvation. There was thus the presentation of a desirable goal toward which progress might be made, even though it be true that it was progress toward another world. The experiences of men thus took on meaning, something which subsequent generations have insisted upon finding, if not in religion then in some other explanatory principle, as for example the idea of progress.

Before a concept something like the modern notion could appear men must believe that a better life was in the making here on this earth. In Chapter IV, some aspects of the changes represented by the Renaissance and the Religious Revolts were discussed. The former, as was to be expected, embodied some of the contradictions which earlier generations of men espoused. While Humanism on the one hand glorified the lives and literature of classical writers and thus indulged in a worship of the past it also stood for an emphasis upon satisfactions to be obtained in this life, not in a future existence. Upon other fronts thinking of the revival pointed more definitely forward and the Golden Age was projected into an earthly future. Contesting with the sense of inferiority to men of classical times or inferiority in the eyes of Divinity, new feelings of self-esteem and confidence gradually spread. These were increased when it was realized that the seemingly most impregnable institution of all, the Church, could be successfully withstood.

The questioning of institutions in the course of time led to the idea that they were not unalterable or beyond the reach of men. A long line of investigators and writers, especially French, contributed to a growing optimism in regard to the improbability of social conditions and of man. Knowledge was ordered and classified and history reinterpreted and extended so that more men became acquainted with the record of human effort and comparisons were made with earlier times to the advantage of later generations. A high peak in belief in the perfectability of man was reached in the optimistic hopes of early leaders in the revolutionary thought in France. The still earlier theolog-

ical idea of progress toward perfection in the next world was thus remade by eighteenth century scholars and leaders along more earthly lines, the goal to be reached in this world. Some, like Auguste Comte, who gave us the word *sociology*, worked out the stages through which the various societies pass in their upward climb.]

[Developing science had begun to describe natural phenomena in terms of cause and effect and increasingly promised man a greater measure of control over nature as he came to understand her language.] As applications, laboriously made at first and more rapidly later, began to result in changes in material culture it was but a small transition to the idea that man might also learn to control in advance changes in non-material culture. In the field of biology classification of plants and animals was made from simple to more complex forms and the idea advanced that organic types were recapitulated in embryonic development.

It remained for a synthesis of these various lines of thought to be made which would provide a theory of progress. On the biological side this appeared in 1859 in Darwin's *Origin of Species* in which evolutionary change toward better adaptation of forms of life is explained in terms of natural selection, heredity and variation. It then appeared possible to believe on rational grounds in the appearance of life at successively higher levels.

So profound was the impression created that students of sociology, anthropology, history and even ethics began to see in social change a manifestation of the evolutionary processes of variation, heredity and selection. One of the most influential persons in working out the biological analogy in social phenomena was Herbert Spencer and in his theory of social evolution is found sanction for the idea that evolution means progress.¹ This assumed relationship comes out clearly in the interpretation of social evolution increasingly accepted after Spencer, for according to Young it held that "beginning in crude and simple forms, institutions and forms of group life move ever upward by

¹ See Bury, J. B., *op. cit.*, Chap. XIX, for a full discussion of Spencer's influence on the evolutionary concept of progress.

steady stages toward complexity and perfection."¹ Instead of discounting change as something to be avoided the evolutionist finds change eminently desirable, for better adaptation comes only through change. Thus the ever accelerating changes since the late nineteenth century came increasingly to be given the stamp of approval as progressive. On the other hand, the implication was drawn that continued improvement in the life of man is assured through the evolutionary process.

In this abbreviated review of a very complex movement of thought and sentiment of many centuries there has been much simplification and omission but the general relation of the concept of progress to social change and the origins of the concept should be understood. The next problem is the consideration of the inferences reached in the mental developments just traced, that social change is constantly making for the greater progress of mankind.

THE UNCERTAINTY OF PROGRESS

[If change whether it be evolutionary or of some other nature is not synonymous with progress its acceptance in the folkways as such is an irrational circumstance no matter how beneficial it may prove.]

Now that historical scholarship has provided something of an antidote for the scorn in which ancient societies have been held by the more modern we know that truly great civilizations existed in the past. Instead of their demise being because of great backwardness and wholly a fortunate thing because it left the way open for so-called progress, mankind seems to have been the poorer following the wreckage. There were Babylonia and Egypt. No one doubts the real merits of the contributions to civilizations of Greece and Rome, but despite the efforts of some of their leaders to preserve their high status there was degeneration. [Is there any more reason to think that present societies will be more successful than these ancient peoples?]

¹ Young, K., *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Of course, the answer is made that although man is very old he is very young in his understanding of social functioning and that what little has been learned in the last hundred years fore-shadows great ability in the future to control cultural change. The realization that such an answer is an expression of faith in what man may do rather than a statement of proven accomplishment leaves one less confident of the surety of progress or even of stability. Especially since seeing what highly civilized people were capable of doing in the last war to destroy their own laboriously built cultural foundations some thinkers have become pessimistic about the changes which we have worshiped as progress and on the basis of which ability to control the future was predicated.]

Not only has there been some disillusionment from that source but attempts on purely rational grounds to prove that there is progress have been disconcerting. As seen, the popular notion holds that changes produce progress. If it be asked what kind of changes, the popular notion offers little more than *desirable* changes, or those which are *better*.¹ Such answers are personal and relative and not rationally objective. This constitutes a ready concession to the contention of Todd that the whole matter involves values and belongs, therefore, in the fields of art and philosophy rather than that of science—even social science. “Physical science knows only change, not progress.”² It is true that a scientist might suggest that the *better changes* are those which result in a better adaptation to environment. This was the sense in which Ross proposed that progress is “better adaptation to given conditions.”] If this is taken to suggest that the “given conditions” or environmental features are static, waiting upon man to adjust to them, it involves an inexact view of the changing environment as Todd points out. Suppose, on the other hand, that better adaptation to conditions be assumed to have taken place, the conditions

¹ Case, C. M., *Social Process and Human Progress*, Harcourt, Brace, 1931, Chap. I.

² Todd, A. J., *Theories of Social Progress*, Macmillan, 1918, pp. 91-92.

might very possibly be such as to lead to change for the worse instead of the better.

But, it may be objected, surely there are some reliable criteria which can be defended upon intellectual grounds and by which progress can be measured. Many criteria have been proposed for identifying the changes which should be considered progressive, but their lack of purely objective bases accounts for the diversities between the proposed lists. It seems clear that most criteria, as will be pointed out in the next section, reflect the personal views of the authors and the values of the culture and society from which they come. The lack of agreement would appear to suggest that the determination of which social changes make for progress and under what conditions this is so is an extremely difficult matter. Certainly we are not justified in nonchalantly assuming that the bulk of social change is constantly making for progress until some reliable measure of progress is found. Because of this state of affairs some sociologists feel it would be wise to drop the term *progress* altogether and confine consideration to cultural change as treated in the first chapter.

Support for the view that change spelled progress was previously seen, however, to come from the theory of social evolution. Whether the particular evolutionary view held was in an inevitable moving in the right direction by man or merely that there were provided conditions under which conscious human effort could achieve the same result, in both cases there was promise of a long continued advance. But the theory of social evolution was destined to come to an untimely end and thus its correlative belief in the certainty of social progress. Studies of peoples and institutions failed to reveal the successive steps of development called for by the theory.¹ Moreover, instead of the expected gradual changes, societal groups were discovered to undergo at times changes of revolutionary suddenness and extent. Again, as Spencer's optimism failed to see, even biological evolution strictly interpreted merely insures changes and

¹ See Young, K., *op. cit.*, for examples.

these may be progressive or regressive depending upon the point of view of the observer. As a result it is now realized that the recently formed union between [the notion of progress and evolution came from a misconception of the latter, and the belief in social evolution has been generally discarded. This leaves us simply with the assured knowledge that culture grows, but with no assurance as to the desirability of the directions of this growth.]

DETERMINATION OF THE CHANGES DESIRABLE

[The importance to human beings of a knowledge of what constitutes betterment is such that the problem should not be left without further consideration. Fundamental to any plan for the improvement of individual and social life either through education or some other process is the ability to determine what is progress.] In as much as there is no such thing as evolutionary progress in social life and there is no assurance that changes in the long run will be for the better, objective measures of progress are needed. But the latter call for a knowledge of the socially desirable goals of human life.

There has been much talk of social and economic planning in this country during recent years, but few of its advocates have felt in a position to attempt to state with any precision or in objective terms what the ultimately desirable goals should be. On the contrary, as Bossard says, "most advocates of planning in the United States seem to have had in mind a somewhat more intelligent and conscious organization of forces to facilitate processes already under way, and to move toward ends even now silhouetted against the horizon of a decade hence."¹ Yet how can we know whether the facilitation of present processes is desirable unless the ultimate goals to which they lead are known? Intermediate ends should logically be determined by the ultimate. If the latter are impossible of discovery, as some students hold, it would militate against intelligent planning for the future. This was the position taken by Allport, as was seen

¹ Bossard, J. H. S., *Social Change and Social Problems*, Harpers, 1934, p. 770.

Allport

in Chapter III. [He argues that social progress can have no other meaning than the "well-being of the individual" on the grounds that "since we have no experience upon which to pattern our ideal of society as a whole, this ideal must necessarily remain a mere postulate." ¹]

The obscure nature of the problem will be clearer if we examine samples of the criteria proposed for measuring progress. As a preliminary overview of tenable theses, quite suggestive are the six propositions which Todd gives as growing out of his study: first, progress is theoretically possible; second, it is not inherent in the nature of things; third, the term in present usage is indefinite; fourth, objective tests of progress should be possible; fifth, progress depends upon many factors; sixth, if man is to rise above mere social drift, new types of education must be utilized. He dismisses as inadequate criteria of progress the increases in civilization along the lines of greater order, or control over material things, and other indices of industrial, educational, humanitarian or institutional types. Increases in population and wealth are also found to be inconclusive, while, of the objectively demonstrable increases in health and longevity, he remarks that a "pasteurized, sanitized society is not necessarily progressive nor dynamic." In the realm of morals he thinks that the question of absolute progress is an open one, even though he feels that there has been real clarification of ethical concepts and greater utilization of them in the principles of social organization. Admitting the tentative nature of his own conclusion, Todd proposes that the basic test is found in "an interest in human well-being." ²]

[In an equally comprehensive manner, though less critically, Odum reviews various measures of progress.³ The limitations of these in not resting upon proven ultimate objectives and values, as pointed out above, he recognizes, holding that the "next step in social science and social guidance must be a far more

¹ Allport, F. W., *op. cit.*, pp. 424-426.

² Todd, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. viii and Chap. VII.

³ Odum, H. W., *Man's Quest for Social Guidance*, Henry Holt, 1927, Chap. XXXII.

concrete and comprehensive study and definition of values." The data in terms of which satisfactory criteria should eventually be worked out when scientific study of society advances sufficiently deal with the "structure, function and values of society at a given period."

Others find their criteria of progress in the satisfaction of human needs and wants. Finney says, in *A Sociological Philosophy of Education*, "the criterion of progress is therefore those innate biological needs of *homo sapiens* which have been constant as long as have the unit characters of his germ plasm. . . ." Dewey would seek it in the satisfaction of the "needs and capacities of collective human nature."¹ Hart is sympathetic toward a similar measure and, in the *Technique of Social Progress*, defines progress as consisting in "those biological and cultural changes which on the whole and in the long run enable men to do what they really want to do." The two latter statements are superior to the first in their recognition of culturally acquired wants, as the clues to distinctively human behavior are found as much or more in them than in the idea of biological needs unmodified. The limitation of using simple *adaptation to environment* as a measure of progress was noted in a previous section.

A final example must suffice to illustrate the divergent points of view. After warning against the mistake of identifying changes or increases of all kinds with progress, Kulp states that the lack of objective criteria prevents any determination in the spheres of satisfactions and morality.² On the other hand, he believes that there is a possibility of objective standards of advance being set up in what he terms the "mores of maintenance" and the "mores of perpetuation." Illustrative of the former: machines could be said to be better which yielded a larger output, or improvement in health would be measured by the decrease of mortality and sickness. Illustrative of the latter: institutional practices which resulted in breeds of men of higher intelligence, health and economic efficiency might objectively be said to be better.

¹ Quoted by Odum, p. 539.

² Kulp, D. H., *op. cit.*, p. 417.

It should now be apparent that there is too little agreement upon the criteria by which the value of past changes can be judged or the nature of the changes which it would be desirable to make in the future can be determined. Present tests of progress seem inextricably interwoven with the personal interests and prejudices of the writers and the dominant attitudes and beliefs of their own cultures and peoples. As has been seen, a number of serious students of the problem believe that objective criteria are possible as our understanding of the factors involved increases, but for the present we lack such. And thus there is the possibility that the needed ultimate goals and values which would throw light on the comparative worth of more immediate trends of change may be impossible of discovery.

Toward this muddled picture of the nature of progress and its criteria Hart finds four viewpoints today.¹ One tends to be self-satisfied with change up to this time and optimistic over the prospect of progress in the future. Another is pessimistic, feeling that changes have been or will be for the worse. Still another, and it is supported by able sociologists, is agnostic, holding that the whole concept of progress is subjective and not capable of scientific determination. Finally, there is the view supported by various individuals who believe progress and regress can be measured and that human beings can have some influence upon the direction of changes. The general position of this last view seems the most tenable, although it is to be admitted that to great extent it refers to a possibility rather than to actual accomplishment.

Even though there is the difficulty at present of objectively demonstrating progress it is well to remember two facts suggested in *An Introductory Sociology* by Young: "first, that faith in progress itself may act as an incentive to the changing of conditions; and second, that the criteria, reflecting as they do a society and culture of a time and place, may well furnish a blueprint for the planning and controlling of social change for that

¹ Hart, H., *The Technique of Social Progress*, Holt, 1931, Chap. I.

particular society.”¹ These observations seem essentially correct. Although the concept of progress owes much of its development to earlier misinterpretation of certain facts, even though it is a myth as some assert, it has become something of a dynamic element of creed for the plain man. Men live by faith as well as fact. The corollary, teaching that a duty is owed to posterity, as Bury points out, has proven a compelling ideal by which many of the actions of men have been governed. Although ultimate values and objectives may not be discoverable, as Peters has so well insisted, the values which have dynamic force for a given society can be objectively learned by study of the things valued by the people of that society.² So, as Young says, criteria useful in guiding change for a particular society may be derived from these values. Young then goes on to say, “If, therefore, we have made a sufficiently careful analysis of past cultural change and have interpreted it in terms of a direction which seems desirable, that is, in the light of our conception of progress, we may be in a position to use this analysis as the basis for testing the next steps in change.”

In view of this somewhat involved answer to the question of whether it is possible to determine the nature of the changes which it would be desirable to make in the future, school people should be cautious against indulging in unbridled optimism that the changes they advocate or would like to advocate in the classroom are precisely what society needs for progress. They should beware also of untempered enthusiasm for the panaceas, educational and otherwise, endorsed of every voice crying in the wilderness. Even though determination of the desirable next steps should be possible for us “in the light of our conception of progress,” they can only be recognized with difficulty and after more careful study than most of the wilderness voices have or can ever give to them. If progress is to be made it will require determined effort, for it is in no sense guaranteed.] On the other

¹ Page 578.

² Peters, C. C., “Educational Sociology as a Source of Fundamental Assumptions in Education,” *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XIV (September 1928), pp. 385-392.

hand, school people have no reason to accept the cynicism of some of the so-called *intellectuals*. In fact, they need to hold and inspire a reasoned belief in the possibility of progress and in the worthwhileness of human effort to discover in which directions man is moving.

THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTROLLING SOCIAL CHANGE

Assuming then a potentially greater reliability of insight into the values of change as knowledge and understanding increase, there is still the problem of whether this insight can be utilized in social planning. It should make for clarity if relatively long-time and comprehensive social planning is distinguished from the control of more immediate and minor changes. Much of what has been written in recent years on the subject of social planning has had reference to the former.

[It should not be thought that men never planned for the future before the rise of the concept of progress. The latter, however, provided greater stimulation and encouragement for doing so and has led to the formulation from time to time of long-range plans, as, for example, that of Condorcet previously mentioned.] More frequently though, prior to this century, what planning there was referred to the control of relatively short-time changes. The distinguishing characteristics of the thinking on planning which has been done since the War are its long-time aspect and the inclusiveness of its scope. Many phases of life are to be simultaneously directed toward the pre-conceived goals.

[In either type of planning, however, it is necessary, in order to obtain results, to effect changes in both individual personalities and in culture. Schemes of human betterment which rely entirely on the latter meet frustration in their neglect of the individual element. People cannot be made good by law; neither can a society be saved by social planning without the necessary correlative adjustments being made in the personalities composing it.] An example is had in the attitudes toward some of the economic measures of the New Deal. In the stress of

emergency such measures were proposed and acquiesced in by the general population, though it is not to be thought they were comprehended. Seemingly, this partial reorganization of culture was successfully carried out even though there had been no education of individuals to prepare them for this change. So much so did this appear to be the case that Bagley cites it as an illustration showing that education along the line of social problems was not a prerequisite for the acceptance of a new economic order.¹ Two years later, as the fright of emergency somewhat wore off, these same unregenerated individuals disclaimed faith in the new measures. For a changed social organization there must be changed individuals.

Or there is the city in which the school authorities have a vision of the new place of usefulness which the schools might occupy in that community if alteration were made in their functioning. Perhaps it is the democratization of the social life through the abolition of secret fraternities, the introduction of a new program of social activities including dancing, more realistic class discussion of the economic and social problems of the given community, the adoption of a plan of religious instruction or work in sex education or some other change in functioning discussed in previous chapters. If the school authorities, because of their legal right, order the modification of the institutional pattern, that is attempt to make changes in culture traits without at the same time attempting to secure new viewpoints and changed ideas in individual parents regarding the proper scope of education, trouble is likely to ensue. The nature of the individual personalities has an important bearing upon the success of plans of social reorganization.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the more permanent societal changes are not made through programs which rest entirely upon their appeal to individuals. It seems apparent that if there is any possibility of preserving peace or solving other major social problems more must be done than appeal to

¹ Bagley, W. C., "The Task of Education in a Period of Rapid Social Change," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 19 (November 1933), p. 564.

moral sensibilities of individual citizens. There must also be changes in the organizational and institutional manifestations of culture. New or revised social structures are required in the form of treaties, constitutional provisions, regulations and laws, committees, judicial bodies, assemblies, the designation of societal agents for enforcement or administration, controls of publicity, etc., depending upon the nature of the changes desired.

If the reader will consider a moment the functions of formal education, both its strength and limitations with respect to its values in promoting change will be apparent. It develops a program designed primarily to effect changes in the attitudes, knowledges and habits of individuals—things which are essential to all planned social change. On the other hand, it can do nothing directly about the changes in culture which we have seen must be an integral part of the process.

Thus we are inescapably led to the conclusion that the conscious, planned control of social change calls for changing the individual and culture hand in hand. The problem then shifts to the possibility of doing this.]

Changing Individuals. [The various expressions which human nature has taken under different circumstances, in different places and at different times would suggest a very wide range of possible change in individuals. In fact, one of the characteristics of *homo sapiens* is his great adaptability.] Our brief view in Chapter II of the interplay of factors in the development of individual personality likewise supplied evidence of fundamental plasticity. The extension of formal education itself is a monument to the belief of men that the personality of the young can be controlled and there is no reason to dispute the essential correctness of this position. Even at the present time human beings live in such a diversity of physical and cultural worlds that only a flexible nature would permit of any degree of successful adaptation. [Unquestionably, human nature admits of change.]

As to how wide-sweeping and elemental the changes may be there is less certainty. Impressed by the great magnitude of the

transformations in material civilization, Todd remarks, "'Nature' is vastly more amenable to human direction than is man's own nature." There is neither under-estimation of the difficulty faced by social planning here nor denial of its possibilities. In fact, the difficulties constitute reasons to the writer for thinking it most urgently needed.

Again a belief in the plasticity of individuals cannot ignore differences between them which are in part hereditarily caused. In this connection Young questions whether attempts at social planning can achieve complete success which have as their objective the elimination of distinctions between individuals. Even should economic and political causes of stratification be removed some other plan for differentiation of social function based on innate difference in capacity might well be the source of new distinctions. If this be correct, then it may not be entirely inappropriate to say that one of the communistic ideals runs counter to "human nature." On the other hand, there is no implication that capitalism as we have it completely squares with "human nature." The latter is too variable to admit of this interpretation and our knowledge of all factors involved too limited.

To the deterministically inclined, the position outlined above seems too optimistic. For example, Kulp expresses his agreement with Durkheim that "one cannot educate a child beyond the culture milieu."¹ As illustrations he cites the reversion of the graduates of the Indian schools to native ways upon their return home and of college graduates resorting to less idealistic and ethical practices than they esteemed before graduation. As a matter of fact, are not these instances less proof of the impossibility of changing the individual than of the need of the previously mentioned concomitant changes in culture?

[Apparently under influences from both instinctive and abnormal psychologies Ogburn has expressed great skepticism regarding the desirability of changing individuals; this he regards as tantamount to changing innate nature.] This view stresses

¹ Kulp, D. H., *op. cit.*, p. 67.

the extreme finesse with which adjustments must be selected so that there will be a minimum of harmful "repression of quite normal biological processes" or denial of "the normal expression of some instinctive tendencies."¹

While it must be admitted that a greater or lesser amount of repression exists, especially in periods of greatly accelerated social change, both acquired and hereditary dispositions are involved and both in the light of present knowledge may be modified within wide limits without fundamental damage to biological nature. Of as much importance is the extent to which it is desirable for control of the individual to go, for social planning inevitably involves greater concessions upon the part of individuals than we have had in the past history of this country. Still having a relatively large degree of latitude for individual initiative, although there has been increasing curtailment as American society has grown complex, are we now ready to pay the price of planned social change in what will seem to be extreme regimentation?

Changing Culture. The nature of culture changes as already sketched in the first chapter and referred to early in the present one, does not now present a very encouraging view of the possibilities of fundamental control. It is true that man's power to plan in advance some rather immediate changes, particularly in material things together with the current high frequency of changes of all sorts, has led the casual observer to assume the capacity for larger control. But when the sweep of cultural growth is viewed *in toto*, as students have been able to reconstruct it, and the causes have been considered, it appears far less amenable to fundamental control than might be wished. The present knowledge and understanding of procedures for dealing with the problems involved are conceded to be quite inadequate by most students.

1 The very complexity of the vast culture of the day with its interpenetrating traits and patterns, having its existence in the

¹ Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change*, B. W. Huebsch, 1922, pp. 337-340.

mental processes of men, but endlessly changing whether planned or not, seems to point to characteristics transcending complete comprehension, not to speak of manipulation.] The culture stream does seem to be *superhuman*, to borrow the phrase that Hart uses to express the feeling shared by many students of social science.

[If one reflects upon culture growth it is recalled that this depends primarily upon the character and magnitude of previous cultural development which in turn is involved in the two processes: diffusion and invention.] Any factors which promote contacts and communication between peoples influence the diffusion of traits, such as the size and distribution of populations, commercial or military expeditions, newspapers, motion pictures, the radio or schools. Undoubtedly human beings are the agents of diffusion but their ability to control more than a limited part of culture for more than a limited time has not been demonstrated.] The effectiveness of immediate control, however, seems greatly enhanced through the recent developments in the means of distributing mass propaganda through, for instance, the radio and the motion picture.]

On the other hand [culture changes and increases through inventions, but these appear to be the result not only of great minds but also of previous changes which have made cultural conditions ripe, so to speak, for the inventions.] And the latter when made have themselves produced so many unforeseen changes that their consequences often are quite unpredictable. It is just this situation at present which has produced so many changes that, as Ogburn opines, far from planning and directing them, man appears to be having a difficult time keeping up with them. The common deterministic view toward the possibility of social control of the long-time and comprehensive types is summed up by this writer in the statements that "culture grows because of purely cultural factors" and that "to change culture to fit man is . . . so difficult a task as to be almost impossible."¹

The short time and minor changes which were distinguished

¹ Ogburn, W. F., *op. cit.*, pp. 340-346.

at the outset of this discussion from the relatively long-range social planning so much to the fore in current thinking, offer far more promise for immediate human effort. Limited as our knowledge is of what constitutes progress, there is some basis for thinking that analyses of past changes and evaluation of present needs may furnish sufficient real insight for at least setting up "next steps." Further, the existent faith in progress may in itself "act as an incentive to the changing of conditions." Finally, the understanding and techniques for making these minor changes are even now or soon will be within the grasp of man. Just what changes are possible must necessarily be decided in specific instances—the reasons for the necessity of this procedure should be evident after the survey of problems of institutional living made in earlier chapters. [Over a decade ago Ogburn cautiously permitted himself to generalize on types of cultural changes for which there was hope of control in the future if not at present. Among them he listed "certain influences affecting the life of children and parental affection, sex education, modification of social codes, shorter hours of labor, recognition of boundaries to selfishness, specific social programmes." ¹]

[In conclusion it is well to summarize the factors already touched upon which are involved in planned change. They are: insight as to the goals desirable; knowledge of social processes and of procedures for influencing change and the extension of social control over individuals. We are without an objectively verifiable vision of ultimately desirable goals and probably always shall be. Hence, assurance as to the direction of long-range planning is impossible. By tentative methods more immediate goals, which have pragmatic value, may possibly be defined. Somewhat the same limitations and possibilities exist with respect to the second factor. In the case of the third, the plasticity of the individual makes possible a considerable degree of social control. The question then is one of whether we are willing to pay the price of planning for it is certain that a changed culture demands control of individuals.]

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Has freedom or liberty increased since earlier times or not? How serviceable would change in freedom be as a measure of progress?
2. Are greater comfort and progress synonymous?
3. Is revolution an essentially desirable or undesirable method of effecting social change?
4. Hart suggests that there is a difference in the operation of diffusion among people who have attended college and universities and those who left school in the grades or early secondary period. What is the difference? How important would it be? Is there a valid argument here for extending the length of education or not?
5. Are different racial stocks in this country rightly considered to differ in progressiveness? What factors seem to be involved in the differences which exist?
6. Which of the various criteria of progress seem the more valid to you? Why?
7. Says Odum, "Civilization may not in many instances be synonymous with progress any more than the excessive physical vigor, energy, and haste of a city population are synonymous with health." What criticism may be made of this analogy?
8. Is public education more of a mirror of current social change or an active element in bringing it about?
9. A certain pupil from a poor home background made errors in language usage which his own formal schooling never eradicated and which persisted even when he rose to a high school principalship in a city of ten thousand population. Does this suggest the impossibility of educating a child beyond the culture milieu of which Kulp speaks?
10. In speaking of the telic function of education Finney said, "It is the business of teachers to run not merely the school, but the world; and the world will never be truly civilized until they assume that responsibility." Read Finney, *Sociological Philosophy of Education*, Chap. VI. Discuss the underlying assumptions and implications of this view. With which of these do you agree?
11. "A society with wide gaps between the intelligence of its several ranks may be much worse off than one whose general level of intelligence is much lower but in which intelligence is general," says Todd. Do you agree with this? How could it be true?
12. Peters makes the statement that "Evolution carries us onward

to a more efficient adjustment to our environment." Does this proposition hold equally true with physical and social environment? Is there social evolution?

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The first chapter is advised for the student who wishes a review of the nature of cultural growth and change while the second discusses the prospects of progressive change and social planning.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RESPONSIBILITY IN CHANGE

Brief reference was made in the introductory paragraphs of the previous chapter to varying attitudes of school people respecting the part to be played by public education in social change. A question of this type inevitably taps the wide background differences to be found among people in such a country as this so that every possible variety of answer is made. Nevertheless, effort should be made to reach practical working understandings of the fundamentally different types of view and the proposals and actual measures in which they have culminated.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN CHANGE

Several classifications have appeared in recent years which suggest basic disagreements over the part of education in social reconstruction. The reader, however, must be wary of accepting the terminology always at face value as it is difficult to give impartial treatment to attitudes toward which a particular writer himself feels no warmth. Besides the danger of reading unintended meanings into the statements made on the subject, there is the fact that more frequently expressions of view come from those who feel themselves at variance with more commonly accepted attitudes. Since the latter less frequently become articulate, classifications reduce in reality to arrangements of published views and those the non-articulate members of the profession are supposed to hold. It is more than probable, however, that those who voice their positions have an influence out of proportion to their numbers so that a knowledge of them is highly desirable.

A grouping of educators contained in "Modern Social and Educational Trends," *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association*, 1934, provided three categories. One was said to view the changes of modern life with great pessimism but to prefer to do little or nothing about them. Others were said to believe that if there were adequate study of the problems the American people would work out the solutions, while still another group thought that "education must supply the people not only with light but with considerable guidance." To these Everett in a *Challenge to Secondary Education* adds a diametrically opposed view which holds that there have been no really fundamental changes in American culture which call for secondary schools doing much other than performing better the educational services which have been theirs. While this may be acceptable to the uninformed, uncritical or biased, probably only a minority of school people would, after thinking, espouse it in unmodified form.

Kilpatrick distinguishes eight general attitudes toward the role of the school in social improvement. The first five of these agree in opposing an active part by the school in social reconstruction but differ in the reason which is assigned for the opposition, as follows, the school has not been active in the past in seeking social change and should not now; such a course would not be tolerated by the public; it is impossible by virtue of the lack of adequately prepared teachers; the proper function of the school is to teach the accepted culture; as agents of the state teachers should teach "only exactly what the state provides." Another type of view, on the other hand, holding that teaching inevitably indoctrinates anyway, favors teachers using their influence toward pre-disposing pupils to accept definite patterns of thought, sentiment and behavior for a better society. These individuals are divided between those who wish teachers to "know what constitutes social progress and teach accordingly," and those who look to a plan for a totalitarian state with education indoctrinating with reference to this plan. Finally there is the attitude which favors teachers helping pupils to become in-

telligent about social problems but themselves remaining, for the most part, neutral on controversial issues.¹

The number of groups in which a classification of attitudes results is dependent upon the extent of sub-divisioning. Basically there are two general types: one holding that the immediate concern of the school is not in the outcome of the present conflict between the factors of change, the other viewing education as highly important in the direction which changes take. Since the latter is the more dynamic view of the two it is worthwhile to distinguish three main sub-divisions. These, added to the opposing basic type, then give the following four type attitudes.

Limited Initiative in Change. People holding this view have reasons varying from those derived from a knowledge of the historic functioning of schools to a conservative repugnance of change; from a belief that society needs education for help in adjusting personality to changes which have already taken place to acceptance of various traditional curricular offerings; from a realistic belief that schools are not very effective in what is now undertaken to the view that school people do not actually have opportunity to shape their programs independent of other institutional controls. On the other hand, one student of social trends finds grounds for this verdict: "Suffice it to say that the school, speaking by and large, has never of its own motion added a single subject to its curriculum. Social pressure has always forced it to adjust."² In fact Todd goes on to point out that the influence of education has often been exerted against innovation. Although the survey made in Chapter IV of the historic functions of schools did not elicit any striking instances of this it did show the development of institutional roles of supplementary and residual types. Since institutional patterns tend to persist considerable alteration in relationships would be involved should the schools now be expected to take the initiative in directing

¹ Kilpatrick, W. H., "Public Education as a Force for Social Improvement," *School and Society*, 41 (April 20, 1935), p. 522.

² Todd, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 514.

social change. Some say this is extremely unlikely or impossible; others think some alteration possible but realize fully the difficulties.

A director of the curriculum for a large city system states as his considered judgment, "It is not likely that in the near future secondary schools will play an important part in aiding social change" unless—and he makes one exception—a new government takes over the schools for its purposes.¹ And there is the cry ever and anon from some one that despite the present and past much-vaunted educational efforts this country has and tolerates wide-spread lawlessness; acquitted murderers bask in the spotlights of the vaudeville stage, low grade amusements thrive, the patent medicine industry knows no depressions, cheap literature abounds and corrupt municipal and state officials go their ways, often for years, without much let or hindrance.²

Thus some school people are highly skeptical of the possibility that education may take any initiative in the matter of social change.

Promotional Attitude. The first of the more positive views accepts the work of teachers as of great significance in the improvement of men but frequently is not explicit about the reasons for this faith, at least to the point of exactitude which the more objectively minded deem desirable. Even isolated statements from individuals of the latter inclination from Lester F. Ward to John Dewey may be cited which speak of education as the "chief means" of social progress or the paramount social force next to the state in its "power to modify the social order."

By virtue of the rather natural belief in the worthwhile character of what they are doing almost all school people at times reflect this attitude of magnification of the educational process. Certainly they should not be so engaged unless they do believe

¹ Cushman, C. L., "Social Direction for Education," *A Challenge to Secondary Education*, Appleton-Century, 1935, p. 258.

² See Sterner, L. G., "Fact versus Fancy," *School and Society*, 41 (April 13, 1935), pp. 493-500, for a vivid statement of the impotency of education.

in education but it is of the panacea-like or omnipotent regard toward it to which reference is here made. Those whose responsibility it is to stimulate enthusiasm in classroom teachers are in particular likely to manifest some form of the promotional attitude. It may be uppermost or echoed in the inspirational address at a convention or in the inspirational article in an educational journal. For example, in an editorial written for American Education Week there was advocated the teaching of four ideas as foundational for a better civilization. One was the idea of progress as an assured reality and another the value of planning. In connection with the latter it was said: "With every expansion of opportunity—as through the common school—the race has moved on to higher ground; and planning, wherever it has been tried, has opened doors into a future so full of promise as to arouse the highest enthusiasms."¹ It is found also in the speeches of public leaders and in the lay press. For example, an editorial generally glorifying education found in a current women's magazine contains many statements as the following: "America was made by its system of free education; in no other way could its soul—as a single soul—have gone marching on triumphant and unafraid. The America of tomorrow is just as surely being made in the tens of thousands of schoolrooms where nearly one-fourth of all the inhabitants of the land are being taught who we are and why we are and that democracy is for the average man the best form of government yet devised."²

These attitudes which have been termed *promotional* are not sufficiently critical or realistic to express the dominant conviction of other school people who feel that education is important in social change in very definite ways but that its contribution is not something to be taken for granted. Two groups of persons may be distinguished who take this general position but who differ in their beliefs in the extent and way the school should supply direction for social change. The view of the first

¹ Editorial in the *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23 (October 1934), p. 160.

² Editorial in *Good Housekeeping*, 101 (September 1935), p. 4.

regards education as an indispensable adjunct to social change; that of the second looks to schools and school people for leadership and directing influence.

Indispensable Adjuncts to Change. Whatever other variations in opinion exist there is from this point of view unanimity in opposition to education attempting the directing role of a Moses to lead the American people out of the present confused social situation. There is likewise a tendency to emphasize the critical nature of the present period of human history and to believe that what education does is of great moment in the future welfare of society.

Much of the ideology of this theory concerning the place of the school has grown out of the teachings of the experimentalist philosophers, beginning with John Dewey. The point of departure for this theory is had in the findings of science descriptive of man and the universe. Science is said to show the universe as imperfect and incomplete, undergoing constant change, populated by animals of varying capability among whom man is the most adaptable. The various experiences of man are not to be thought of as having any transcendent meaning any more than those of animals. They are just his experiences arising from constant interaction with a changing environment. The only values they have grow out of their usefulness or non-utility in aiding him to attain his ends, interpret situations correctly and behave appropriately. Since these happenings are essentially indeterminate, mere changes of which science treats, man is called upon to make unending choices so as to preserve the balance of change in the directions which seem more desirable to him.

So far as man can see the thing most to be desired is the development of individuals who grow in understanding of their environment and in the intelligence of their interaction with it. Such individuals are not born but are produced through associated living. Culture plays a large part in their creation but it is foolish to assume that education therefore should merely

be a process of passing down the traditional culture for absorption by children. Much of it has only its traditional value. Much of it constituted only imperfect adaptations to conditions of a previous day. These conditions are forever changing and man needs an intelligence that can cope with problems as they arise. The elements of culture useful in solving problems will be indicated as the growth of the child proceeds.

The function of the school is to prepare for wise choice by cultivating the social intelligence, as Kilpatrick so insistently demands, and by disseminating knowledge about contemporary problems—especially those of social life—for cultural lag is most pronounced in this field. The ready-made solutions of the past are without cogency, for in a changing civilization culture is ever-changing and what the school should teach must change.

For these same reasons no final predictions may be made as to the changes which will take place in the future or which are desirable. We hope that eventually social barriers to sharing of points of view will break down and the intelligence of all classes will develop;—there may then be a democratic, cooperative effort to arrive at the right solutions.

Thus the role of the school is not to seek to direct social planning but to educate pupils for a society which does plan. As one of the leading exponents expresses it, "the primary concern of a democratic educational procedure is to stimulate a reconstruction of our beliefs and habits in the light of their mutual relationships rather than to predetermine the nature of this reconstruction."¹ Or again the scope is said to be: "to prepare individuals to take part intelligently in the management of conditions under which they will live, to bring them to an understanding of the forces which are moving, to equip them with the intellectual and practical tools by which they can themselves enter into the direction of these forces."²

The contradiction between the acceptance of democratic

¹ "The Educational Frontier," *Yearbook XXI of the National Society of College Teachers of Education*, University of Chicago Press, 1933, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

principles and the practice of indoctrinating for a particular social order has received special emphasis. The implication of the former is, as Wrinkle has said, that "the only way democracy could indoctrinate with democracy would be to permit and encourage the right of its members to 'study its problems, evaluate probable solutions, and arrive at their own answers.'" ¹ Although not usually expressed in this connection there is the possibility that an extension of this democratic principle would bring into the open a further issue—whether the teacher should use his influence for the "retention of the general economic, social, political or moral framework of our people." ² Burr answers no.

Thus for the **large** number of persons, whether experimentalist philosophers or educational practitioners who subscribe to this type of attitude the schools are indispensable in preparing the way for social advance but they should not aspire to lead it. "The duty of education is to prepare people to make intelligent judgments on social problems." ³

Before leaving the view of the indispensability of the school in times of change an entirely different interpretation should be mentioned. It has been vigorously emphasized in recent years by Finney and by Bagley. Although equally impressed with the experimentalists by the kaleidoscopic, portentous nature of current and impending changes, these men have argued that the first contribution society needs from the school is a conserving, stabilizing one. If there is to be neither retrogression nor chaotic, unintelligent change, society needs to retain certain ideas, principles, habits and ideals which have been significant for effort and aspiration up to this point. From this will come the stability needed for ordering changes wisely. Finney lists as great stabilizing and guiding ideals: self-restraint, honesty, frugality, thoroughness, chastity, loyalty,

¹ Wrinkle, W. L., "Reconstructing Secondary Education," in a *Challenge to Secondary Education*, Appleton-Century, 1935, p. 227.

² Burr, S. E., "The Teacher's Part in Social Reform," *Journal of Education*, 117 (September 1934), pp. 391-393.

³ Judd, C. H., *Education and Social Progress*, Harcourt, Brace, 1934, p. 268.

obedience and reverence.¹ Feeling that the teaching of such ideals constitutes a genuine disciplinary service of education, Bagley ventures the belief that these ideals will be "just as significant a thousand years from now as they have ever been in the past."²

Schools as Leaders. The attitude denoted here is that no mere program for developing social intelligence can discharge the responsibility education owes to society; it must go farther and lend an active hand in reorganization. This is to be done through teaching pupils so that they will accept and conform to the requirements of a new social order which seems to be discernible in the future. It is sometimes implied or stated that school people are themselves to play a large part among those who draw the outline for the new order, at times indeed, that classroom teachers individually are to picture the future society which would seem best to them and seek to direct pupils toward it.

In the *Inglis Lecture* in 1929, G. S. Counts called attention to the difficulty of planning a definite program to achieve the "cardinal aims of secondary education" of worthy home membership, vocational efficiency, worthy use of leisure, as well as the others, without first formulating a theory of society which would embrace theories of the family, of labor, of play, etc. Although it was suggested that this effort on the part of school people would be essentially an articulation of education with its age rather than an attempt at the direction of social evolution, in his concluding paragraph the lecturer spoke of school teachers assuming "some responsibilities of leadership in the building of a new civilization."

In the eyes of such individuals the "muddling through" problems, drift, the one-sided emphasis upon economic planning and the questionable success of that—all these experiences of the depression years since 1929 demonstrate more conclu-

¹ Finney, R. L., *op. cit.*, Chap. XXIII.

² Bagley, W. C., *Education and Emergent Man*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934, Chap. XI.

sively than ever the necessity of intelligently trying to formulate in the light of conditions and trends a tenable theory of the good society and using education to influence individuals in favor of it. The development of this type of thinking finds expression in the volumes of the American Historical Association's report of its investigation of the social studies. Counts, writing about the function of the public school today, says:

If education is to grapple with a given social situation it must incorporate a social philosophy adequate to that situation—a social philosophy that has substance as well as form—a social philosophy that represents great historic choices. Education, emptied of all social control and considered solely as method, points nowhere and can arrive nowhere. . . . But it will be an education that recognizes the impossibility of moving in all directions at once, that chooses deliberately and intelligently one fork of the road rather than another, and that does not hesitate, when occasion warrants, to make fundamental decisions regarding national destiny. . . . Any concrete school program will contribute to the struggle for survival that is ever going on among institutions, ideas, and values; it cannot remain neutral in any final and complete sense. Partiality is the essence of education, as it is in life itself. The difference between education and life is that in the former partiality is presumably reasoned and enlightened.¹

The reader is left in some doubt of the author's real view of the extent to which schools can be self-determining in carrying out their function of indoctrination, as a few pages later he states that "their power for influencing social change is strictly limited."² He also refuses to say whether the responsibility for drawing the design for the new order will or should be discharged by parents, teachers, politicians, statesmen or various powerful minority groups.³ Despite these modifications, the leadership of the school in social change is clearly asserted. A

¹ Counts, G. S., *The Social Foundations of Education*, Part IX, "Report of the Commission on the Social Studies," Scribner's, 1934, pp. 534-535. (Quoted by permission.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 560.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

similar viewpoint is expressed in the report of 1933 of the Committee on Social and Economic Problems of the Progressive Education Association.

The group of educators holding these views is not large, but it has provoked considerable attention from others. This group, and the social philosophy with which it is customarily associated, is, for example, one of the three treated in the *Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence* on "Social Change and Education."

The issue of whether schools should actively seek the reconstruction of society by pre-determining the attitudes and beliefs of students, has special significance at the secondary level, where the curriculum introduces more frequently social and economic problems. Workers in this field are keenly aware of this minority attitude among them, as is shown in recent studies. Briggs included a question relating to this function of secondary education in the material prepared for the *Seventh Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence*. This question, reworded, became one of the issues selected for special study by the Committee on Orientation of Secondary Education of the Department of Secondary School Principals. The Committee put it in this form: "Shall secondary education seek merely the adjustment of students to prevailing social ideals, or shall it seek the reconstruction of society?" Again, the question proves to be one of the points of disagreement in a volume prepared by the Secondary Education Committee of the Society for Curriculum Study.¹

As mentioned above, exponents of this view have with a few exceptions not passed on from exhortation to specifying with some degree of care how the new patterns would be framed and by whom. One exception to this is a proposal advanced by Kelly. He suggests the creation of a planning council composed of men from various fields of specialized knowledge and activity, this council to formulate guiding principles or goals for social reconstruction. Although he announces as his creed

¹ *A Challenge to Secondary Education*, Appleton-Century, 1935.

that "in the present complex social organization education must take on the responsibilities of consciously moulding public opinion in support of a predetermined set of social-economic goals and policies, when these goals and policies are set forth by a council of experts in whom education has confidence," he adds that teachers themselves are not to be compelled to accept the findings of the council.¹ In a subsequent address he maintains that in his method of presentation of controversial topics the teacher shall refrain from taking sides dogmatically, so that there is doubt about the seriousness with which the author wishes his original proposal to be taken.²

Questions Raised. In the light of the facts concerning progress reviewed in the previous chapter certain questions arise about these four types of attitude toward the role of the school. In the case of the limited initiative view, while it is true that the past history of the functioning of schools does not warrant belief that they of themselves can suddenly assume an extremely active role, is there reason for thinking that more activity than has characterized them in the immediate past is impossible? Is there reason for thinking they might not deal more with the knowledges, attitudes, and skills important in contemporary culture? If this attitude implies the handing down of a fixed content to pupils as critics charge, is it not based upon the erroneous belief that culture changes little or is changing little at the present time? On the other hand, to lay all the weaknesses of American life at the door of the school is to assume that not only has it been the premier educational agency but that it had a program in the past intended to eliminate these undesirable characteristics. As a matter of fact, the past program was generally conceived differently and the new social emphasis only recently adopted. Yet there is a genuine limitation on its influence by virtue of the fact that

¹ Kelly, F. J., "The Place of Education in Social-Economic Planning," *School and Society*, XXXVI (October 29, 1932), pp. 545-553.

² See addresses made at Fourth General Session, *Official Report of the Department of Superintendence*, Convention held at Atlantic City, February 23-28, 1935.

it is only one of many educational processes between which there is little coordination.

Probably the most pertinent question raised by the promotional attitude is the extent to which it should be in the background of attempts to inspire teachers. Do not educational writing and addresses in this vein either encourage delusions in the uninitiated about what education can accomplish and has accomplished or else cause the more sophisticated to lose faith in the soundness of the judgment and perspective of those making such optimistic assertions? And do we not need to realize instead, that if the school is to contribute to progress it will require facing facts and hard work? A belief that the latter can result in progress as people now see it provides a sounder basis for the optimism in which all engaged in school work should share.

The next type of attitude accepts a more realistic and intellectual view of the relation of the school to social change. It correctly estimates the necessity of having individuals prepared for and capable of change as essential in cultural change. In view of the findings of the previous chapter it seems correct in its denial of present ability to discern ultimately desirable goals, to forecast long-range changes and, therefore, denial of the advisability of school people indoctrinating pupils. Yet does not this attitude also actually result in indoctrination of a kind although with different ends in view? And does not its allegiance to democratic principles provide it with what are essentially long-range goals? Perhaps no fault is to be found because of these things but they are to be explicitly stated. Some are not sure whether there exist in the common man the large possibilities for the development of social and creative intelligence as professed in this type of attitude. The school program becomes one of improving thinking, attitudes and behavior in dealing with life-like problems. Is not this a new version of intellectual discipline, others have asked, which is likely to over-estimate possible transfer? Finally, it may be questioned whether there is not some danger of under-estima-

tion of the worth of previous social arrangements because of the great stress upon the newness of current problems.

Reference was made to the contentions of Finney and Bagley. It must be admitted that there is much truth in the belief that in times of rapid change an important function of the school is to contribute to stabilization. If changes are to be intelligently made society must be orderly, but the school program must go beyond inculcating traditional virtues as the men emphasizing this contribution themselves agree.

Those who advocate that schools and school people should take the initiative in leading or directing the reconstruction of society have thus far not successfully proved their position as both theoretically desirable or practicable in this country. Critical factors for this position are found in the acceptance of new social ideals and the relatively long-range planning advocated. The present lack of assurance as to genuine criteria of progress does not warrant the final terms in which they picture the desirability of the new society. That is partly a matter of personal taste as yet. Again some such life may be inevitable, but our current ability to forecast the future is notoriously feeble so that no dogmatic pronouncements can be made on this score. The best that can be done is the projection of what we called trends in earlier chapters. These guesses, if of the long-range type, may or may not prove to be correct. There is the same uncertainty with regard to the possibility of long-range social planning.

If it be suggested that school people are to be the leaders in discerning the goals and the schools under their leadership used to convert pupils to the new order there is implicit great faith in their ability. Are school people any more gifted with prophetic vision than other elements of society? To what extent are they free from control by the dominant groups of our culture? This attitude seems to suggest that a new society can be created if pupils are properly conditioned, but there is the equally important question of whether culture itself is changing in the direction indicated. Actually schools have

tended to lag behind cultural changes; this view places them ahead, which raises the sociological query of whether the school program can rise higher than the culture of which it is a part.

This consideration of attitudes regarding the role of the school in social change at least points to the fact that educational people are becoming highly conscious of the problems involved and some are studying them keenly. From this activity there already seems to be evidence that more informed attitudes conforming more accurately to present knowledge are emerging.

THE PUZZLE OF PROPAGANDA

A specific problem frequently alluded to in this or preceding chapters claims more direct attention at this time—propaganda. Early in our study it was pointed out that institutional groups sought to preserve their own cultural patterns through passing them on to the young and to non-members. Such practices, in so far as they are successful, retard social change and continue the *status quo*. Various motives such as fear, the belief that the in-group has a superior culture, etc., prompt these actions, but the result is the same as far as the young are concerned—their personalities are molded to a greater or lesser extent by the cultural heritage of those among whom they grow up. As there are various inconsistencies between many of the culture traits in the environment of any one person and as there is competition between different institutional groups or between elements within a group, diverse and often conflicting culture patterns are presented for acceptance. For its own set to be accepted would from the standpoint of the sponsoring society be eminently desirable as the surest guarantee that the identity of its culture would remain unchanged. But to have its own rejected and the patterns of a competing group accepted or some compromise made between the two sets portends change in the old ways of thinking and doing unless further such lapses can be prevented. Thus the development of means of social control to prevent change deemed inimical

to self-interests and to promote change in the direction of their greater fulfillment.

What Is Propaganda? Different lists of the methods of exerting social control or pressure have been suggested since the classic treatment of the subject by Ross was published. A recent one gives: legislation, preaching, teaching and publicity.¹ But what have these to do with propaganda? Is it still another method of exerting social control, or are all the methods in essence propaganda, or does it have some other meaning?

Says a political scientist, "In its broadest meaning, propaganda is nothing but the advocacy of an attitude. Every person who has an opinion or an attitude which he endeavors to have others share is a propagandist."² If this is correct then the reader will recall many of his teachers who were propagandists. There was Miss Smith who was so eager to share her enthusiasm for *Macbeth*, and most of Shakespeare in fact, with the "young moderns" who elected English 21. Or there was Professor Jones who exuded a contagious faith in the ultimate ability of science to solve life's problems.

According to Lasswell, "Propaganda in the broadest sense is the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations."³ A social psychologist distinguishes the broader meaning of the term as attempting to change opinions or attitudes through suggestion from the more specialized application to designate the means used "deliberately to manufacture popular opinions and attitudes and thus control popular conduct; and usually the implication is that the aims of the propagandists are concealed."⁴

The distinction has even been made between honest and dishonest propaganda and so on through a wide gamut. Lumley

¹ Lumley, F. E., *The Propaganda Menace*, Century, 1933, p. 19.

² Odegard, Peter, *The American Public Mind*, Columbia University Press, 1930, p. 178.

³ Lasswell, H. K., "Propaganda," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Macmillan, 1934, XII, pp. 521-522.

⁴ Young, Kimball, *Social Psychology*, Crofts, 1930, p. 653. Compare with Doob, L. W., *Propaganda*, Holt, 1935, p. 89.

after a very complete review of varying conceptions proposes the following in lieu of the lacking more authoritative statement: "Propaganda is promotion which is veiled in one way or another as to (1) its origin or sources, (2) the intents involved, (3) the methods employed, (4) the content spread, and (5) the results accruing to the victims—any one, any two, any three, any four, or all five."¹

The situation as reflected in current writing is every bit as unsettled if only the particular distinction between education and propaganda be considered. On the one hand is the assertion that propaganda "differs from education in that the latter makes no effort to win a person over to adherence to either side of a controverted question. Propaganda seeks to win over to support of a cause by favorable presentation of one side of the case."² At the other extreme is the view which makes the content taught as much a part of the basis for differentiation as the way in which teaching is done or the goal it has in mind. For example Lasswell says, "The inculcation of traditional value attitudes is generally called education, while the term propaganda is reserved for the spreading of subversive, debatable or merely novel attitudes."³ Sometimes there is on the part of school people a tendency to feel that education refers to what is taught in schools and what educators think should be taught, while the term propaganda properly applies to the teaching of the other institutions or to what outside interests demand that schools teach. A number of other contrasts made by teachers or parents between these troublesome concepts are discussed critically by Woody in an article which all interested in education should read.⁴

Enough has been said to indicate that probably the student would not go far astray if he applied the term propaganda in instances in which techniques chiefly based on suggestion are

¹ Lumley, F. E., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

² North, C. C., *Social Problems and Social Planning*, McGraw-Hill, 1932, p. 117.

³ Lasswell, H. K., *op. cit.*, p. 522.

⁴ Woody, C. H., "Education and Propaganda," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179 (May 1935), pp. 227-239.

selected with the purpose of creating pre-designed emotional attitudes in harmony with the interests and views of the propagandizing source. In other words it is not so much what is said or done as the ways in which it is said or done, and thus any means of social control may be used in such a way as to make it become propaganda.

Bain or Blessing? Such is the connotation of the word that the student may feel that it is academic to consider the values of such techniques, but we need more facts before disposing of them mentally or otherwise. Parents seek consciously to influence the emotional attitudes of their children—and should they not? Are not children benefited thereby? Are not many people won to better standards of conduct and more social living through techniques essentially similar to those characterized as propaganda? Does the term deserve to have the bad odor which Doob says it has? Are not the propaganda techniques themselves neither good nor bad as Lasswell contends—it is the uses to which they are put which give them character. This seems basically correct and propaganda may play either role in social change. If it is used to lead people to belief and action that are constructive, that is, are in harmony with whatever criteria of progress we may have or according to the best substantiated data constitute the best solutions to our social problems, then not a few students of society would term it good. On the other hand, subversive propaganda is that which has no concern over these considerations.

In line with this thought Kulp suggests that there should be no hesitation on the part of school people to use propaganda when dealing with facts upon which there is common agreement or scientific sanction, as for example, vaccination for smallpox. Of course, the reasons for vaccination could be developed through discussion or even a project but he urges the indoctrination of belief in such substantiated data as more certain to secure appropriate action and as being more efficient

in saving time for the discussion in the fields wherein there is less agreement.¹

The use of propaganda is defended also by Lasswell, who points out that not only is it here to stay but as a matter of fact the modern world is dependent upon it to secure coordination of action in times of crisis and for the conduct of large scale operations in so-called normal times.² Should one by chance suggest that there are often grounds for doubting whether the "large scale operations" should be conducted he would be charged with quibbling by that section of the population whose interests are served thereby or who regard themselves as practical persons of action. But one who has followed where the facts of the last chapter led is justified in being a bit chary in accepting the general validity of this pronouncement. Moreover, it was seen that the areas in which there is certainty of the ways that make for social improvement are not too large. Progress, instead of being sure and thus achieved quickly by methods of propaganda is at best halting, shortsighted and tentative.

Of more promise in making what progress is possible is enlightened public opinion, and consideration of its mode of formation will serve to indicate the great potentialities for harm that reside in the growing use of the techniques of propaganda.

Public Opinion and Propaganda. We have seen that the viewpoints of people toward social objects are to a large extent determined by the non-material culture patterns of their environment. The pith of this fact Lippmann has expressed vividly in these words: "For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture."³ But, as culture traits change the established

¹ Kulp, D. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344.

² Lasswell, H. K., *op. cit.*, p. 526.

³ Lippmann, Walter, *Public Opinion*, Macmillan, 1922, p. 81.

patterns of thought, attitudes or behavior may not satisfy or appear pertinent to some individuals. The resulting maladjustment or the new situation will suggest to some of these the need of new viewpoints—in which case they are likely to express their individual opinions on the matter. These serve to call attention to the critical social situation and stimulate others to discuss the issues. These issues become better defined as discussion awakens still more discussion and various proposals arise. In the give and play of expression certain individuals are frequently credited with sponsoring this or that new proposal and thus become in popular thinking symbolic of that for which they stand. These are the current social leaders. Other symbols also emerge, often based upon some attempted harmonization of the new proposal with cherished stereotypes. From the ebb and flow of discussion and debate a swing of opinion in some direction finally takes form. If the resulting conviction is supported rather unanimously it becomes the *preponderant opinion* as Ross termed it. In whatever degree of unanimity it is held, however, the verbalized conviction as expressed becomes public opinion.

The explanation here presented of the formation of public opinion assumes that its roots are to be found in the "currents of feeling and emotion about serious problems" and in the more deliberative rational activity rather than in the imposition of a view upon the masses by shrewd leaders through propaganda.¹ Because of the emotional element in public opinion the intentional control of social changes and the selection of valid goals in the most intelligent way possible is difficult. Yet in a democratic society it is through such give and take that mass intelligence is expected to rise. On the other hand, if public opinion is to a great extent a rational group judgment, as Ellwood contends, then its value as an adjunct to social improvement is incalculable.

In periods of relatively rapid change like the present the number of critical social situations not covered by previous

¹ See Young, Kimball, *Social Psychology*, Crofts, 1930, p. 575.

habits and attitudes is greater than ordinary and thus differences in opinion increase. If the wisest solutions of which we are capable as a people are to be found there must be opportunity for the free formation of public opinions as well as for the dissemination of the findings of specialists who are allowed to delye untrammelled in the various fields of knowledge. But, instead, what have we found? On the one hand, there is a demand for censorship which results in holding up the dissemination of all the knowledge available, or the pertinent facts. On the other, there is a growing use being made of propaganda which by nature always seeks to propagate certain viewpoints with intolerance toward all others instead of allowing free opportunity for the formation of public opinion or the dissemination of facts impartially.

Spread of Propaganda. The wide extent of propaganda in the United States has received attention from two of the writers to whom reference has already been made. In his study of what he terms its growing menace to the nation, Lumley finds it necessary to treat its use in seven fields: industry, politics, war, patriotism, race, education and religion. Using a different approach, Doob finds ample illustrations for his psychological analysis of propaganda in connection (1) with its commercial applications, (2) by four different types of propaganda societies, (3) from Communistic and Nazi sources, and (4) by those interested in war and peace.

Add to the trends in the use being made of these techniques the fact of the impressive growth of the agencies of communication and there is a picture which should challenge the concern of every thinking citizen. In Chapter VI, the influence of the radio and of the motion picture to support or undermine prevalent mores and emotional attitudes was mentioned. They can be equally influential in molding opinion and controlling action with respect to any of the problems to be faced in an effort to achieve progressive change.

Mechanically there never was a time when propaganda was

rendered more assistance or made more easy of accomplishment. The expansion of postal facilities by the government found an ever growing volume of matter to be handled. Between 1908 and 1930 the amount of first class mail doubled, reaching a total of 16,901,000,000 pieces or 137.9 per capita. Only isolated studies here and there suggest what proportion of this growing volume contain propaganda but this percentage is increasing. In the thirty years prior to 1930 there was a nineteen million increase in the number of telephones. Although in the decade of the 1920's the number of newspapers did not increase, their circulation did, so that in 1930 evening dailies averaged 25,150,000 copies and morning papers reached slightly over half that figure. The monthly periodicals enjoyed relatively greater growth than newspapers.

The newer agencies of mass impression already referred to have more than justified the hopes of the first promoters. Although consolidation and failures of the depression may have altered the figures somewhat, reliable estimate placed the number of motion picture houses on January 31, 1931, at 22,731 and the number of weekly admissions around one hundred million during 1930. Odegard estimates that twenty-five thousand churches and fifteen thousand schools used the motion picture that same year. In something like a ten-year life history the radio was reported as being owned by 12 million families in 1930 while on January 1, 1932 the number of receiving sets in the United States was placed at 16,026,260. Broadcasting stations to the number of 612, or almost half of the world's total, supplied the programs.

Is this multiplication of the agencies for reaching the minds and emotions of people proving bane or blessing? Neither has there been sufficient passage of time nor adequate study of effects to warrant a final answer. There have been instances of each result but the future prospect seems more ominous than encouraging in the light of present conditions.

From half to two-thirds of newspaper and periodical income is derived from advertising, and in 1931 sample studies of the

broadcasts of two large chains showed about a third of their programs produced advertising revenues.¹ This means that they bring greater advertising revenues as commercial investments when the advertisers, as well as the subscribers, are pleased. There is likely to be a conscious or unconscious consideration of the way the advertisers wish news reported or audiences entertained. Also the conditions under which both domestic and international news is gathered by correspondents for the press associations are such that unbiased or complete reporting is often difficult. With private ownership of these agencies of communication the interests of the owners may dictate the "slant" given news and programs either openly or in the veiled manner of typical propaganda. Witness the way a misleading headline can create a false impression hardly to be dispelled by the facts recorded below it.

In Europe the press and broadcasting stations are under the domination of the state but that does not mean less propaganda but more of certain types than is found in the United States. A recent writer, instead of approving the extension of measures designed to provide some federal supervision or control over the radio to the press and motion pictures also, points out that this would prove a calamity.² He points out, for instance, the ease with which a blinding propaganda may be spread by the state under the aegis of some movement like nationalism.

With the stage so set for the manipulation of social stimuli and so many divergent viewpoints held, it seems reasonable to anticipate still greater efforts to employ and control propaganda in the future.

Education and Propaganda. This does not argue well for any serious attempt to attain progressive social change. Propagandists do not wish all the facts to be given but wish, rather, that some of them be suppressed. They appeal to the emotions

¹ These figures and those above are taken from Wiley, M. M. and Rice, S. A., "The Agencies of Communication," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, 1933, Chap. IV.

² Riegel, O. W., *Mobilizing for Chaos*, Yale University Press, 1934.

instead of to the reason. What we need is more information and opportunity for the free interchange of opinion with its leavening influence on the definition and clarification of social issues and goals and the resulting quality of public opinion. Propaganda provides no stable foundation for social advance.

What is the responsibility of education toward propaganda in relation to social change? As often reiterated previously, formal education is not the only agency which could or should be concerned with such problems. There are a few who believe that education can be of little or no service toward progressive social change and many who believe its opportunity is large. What can be done in a specific instance in a particular community, however, depends upon circumstances.

In the first place, schools can help make pupils aware of the individual and societal dangers of propaganda. The reader should recall the discussion of consumer education in Chapter VII as an instance of what is being attempted to offset propaganda in salesmanship. One of the large benefits that might result from the study of this topic in the schools would be to put the students on their guard against the wiles of the advertiser and the vender. Second only to this is the benefit of equipping them with knowledge with which to avoid the consequent unwise expenditure. Consideration in a history class of the type of data reviewed so strikingly in *Mobilizing for Chaos* would not only awaken students to the perils of nationalistic propaganda through the press, radio and the motion picture but help make them watchful for other kinds of propaganda through these agencies.

Adoption of the means of forewarning students of the dangers would, in the second place, lead inevitably to the provision of knowledge about the nature of propaganda and the way we are influenced by it. Knowledge of its characteristics should be supplied so that students may more readily detect it. Through the use of samples collected by them from everyday life or from historical instances given by writers on the subject they should be led to see that it is characterized by appeal to accepted

stereotypes or cherished symbols, by the attempt to link the material with positive, accepted values, by appeal to the emotions rather than to the intelligence, by one-sidedness and usually an attempt to veil the motive.

Pupils ought to be encouraged when reading a newspaper, viewing a newsreel or listening to a broadcast to ask themselves various questions such as, did a reliable correspondent, press association, publisher, screen or radio editor, commentator or owner gather and transmit the news and views expressed? What were the conditions under which they were gathered and transmitted? Is any indication given of the source of authority for the reports? How reliable are the sources from which they were secured? ¹

Various projects organized for other purposes may be utilized to keep students on the lookout for propaganda and its marks. For example, a project in civics, current events or history of the "nominating convention" type or in connection with a party, state or national election may serve splendidly.² As our knowledge of the nature of propaganda increases it will be possible to inform students of the principles of social psychology by which it acts in its regimenting work.

Third, schools can help disarm propaganda through more effective performance of their function of creating social intelligence. A better informed public is less gullible in the face of propaganda, less likely to produce radically erroneous public opinions. Making people more intelligent about social problems, therefore, is one of the most helpful defenses against it. The school is only one of the factors in this situation and what is involved in performing this function is discussed elsewhere. Suffice it to note here that as the increase of knowledge actually does render propaganda innocuous there will be demands for greater censorship. Adult as well as child education is also needed.³

¹ For further suggestions see Kulp, D. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336, or Lippmann, Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

² Hadsell, R. S., "A National Election Project," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 25 (March 1936), pp. 79-80.

³ See Woody, C. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 337-338.

Fourth, there is some truth embodied in the often quoted aphorism that the best defense is attack. So it is that some advocate the use by schools of constructive propaganda to offset that which is subversive. If all were as careful to specify the conditions and criteria for identifying the constructive and the subversive as Kulp is such a suggestion would meet with less criticism.¹ But what this really means is indoctrination according to certain objectives or in the light of certain values or standards. The difficulties of assuring ourselves of even tentative, near-time goals were observed in the previous chapter. Differences of opinion are great. The net result then seems to be that much of the schools' propagandizing would necessarily be limited to ideas that have already received general social acceptance, but the validity of these ideas and their true relation to social progress would be open to question—as would, for that matter, their value in combating modern subversive propaganda.

Actually in the realm of tastes, appreciations and standards of conduct the schools even now do much teaching by means of the techniques of propaganda but this is only partially effective as the problems of recreation, delinquency, etc., indicate. Doctrinaire teaching of the established data of science is open to fewer objections and can perhaps be done with more certainty. In the field of modern social problems, on the other hand, the balances at present seem weighted against the school's being able or even allowed to use much constructive propaganda contrary to community mores unless it be merely to inculcate such attitudes as open-mindedness, tolerance and a willingness and desire for the facts.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. The view of progressive education toward the general role of the school was discussed in Chapter IV. Which of the four types of attitudes respecting the school's part in social change would this movement as there discussed seem to favor? Is there any relation between the "residual view" and any of these four attitudes?

¹ Kulp, D. H., *op. cit.*, p. 345.

2. Is all education propaganda? How do you think education and propaganda should be distinguished?

3. Todd says in his *Theories of Social Progress* that education is paradoxical, being constantly "behind the march of industrial progress, and yet necessarily in the fore of any further advance." How do you interpret this?

4. One of the values usually mentioned of historical study is a contribution to citizenship. Does this imply the indoctrination of pupils? Do you consider indoctrination always wrong or does this depend upon the purposes for which it is used? Is the essence of indoctrination to be found in the nature of the subject-matter or in the method of teaching?

5. In a release for the newspapers, the annual report for 1936 of the president of a municipal university was said to declare that college students today need to be protected from alleged friends who divert their attention from the main purposes and issues of education. In the words of the release, the president "described the recent university 'peace strike' as a 'pressure movement' similar to 'any organization of military propaganda.' He said the college, to serve its proper functions 'must seek to relieve its students of pressure-relieved conclusions.'" Do you agree with the sentiment expressed in the report? Do you think pressure movements should be excluded from the campuses of educational institutions? If so, how do you reconcile your position with freedom of speech?

6. Watch the local newspapers for public school news. Were any of the samples you collected released through an administrator of the school or other officer? Did the reporter secure the news in some other way? Do any of the samples resemble propaganda or are they mere presentations of the facts?

7. Kulp states that the radio and motion pictures should be under public ownership because of the danger of the abuse of their possibilities for propagandizing under private ownership. Which type of ownership, all things considered, seems the best to you? Why?

8. Suppose the school board and other educational authorities think a new school building is needed. To what extent do you think they are warranted in using propaganda techniques in their "publicity" to secure favorable action by the voters? Examine samples of such publicity to see if they actually do use propaganda.

9. If the theory of the formation of public opinion out of the emotional attitudes rather than intelligence is correct, is there not an

argument for the use of propaganda to give persons rational emotional attitudes?

10. Todd says in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1935, that a rational system of indoctrination in schools would not only include "drill in knowledge and the mores, but also would include emphasis upon and practice in freedom of inquiry, tolerance, energy, and individual responsibility." Would such a program really be propaganda? Assuming the author's position is correct, list ten items of knowledge and ten mores which you think might properly be indoctrinated.

11. The inaugural address of the president of a large denominational university in a Middle Western state declared the policy of the incoming administration toward teaching the sciences called for no dodging of the facts, but, on the other hand, for teaching all the factual data available, but insisted that the facts should be taught by faculty members of positive Christian faith. Would the science teaching in this institution be education or propaganda? Do you think such a policy justified, all things being considered?

12. Did you detect any propaganda for war or peace or nationalism or any other cause in any of the motion picture news films that you have recently seen?

SELECTED READINGS

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Bagley, W. C. *Education and Emergent Man*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934, Chaps. IX, XI.

Chapters dealing with certain aspects of the relation between education and social progress and the function of education in times of change.

Counts, G. S. *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* John Day, 1932.

This pamphlet contains critical views of education and life and urges a program designed to bring about a better social order.

Doob, L. W. *Propaganda*, Henry Holt and Co., 1935.

A psychological analysis of the nature and operation of propaganda.

"Education for Social Control," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 182 (November 1935), pp. 1-189.

A valuable group of papers presenting various points of view and findings regarding control and its extension.

Lippmann, Walter. *Public Opinion*, The Macmillan Co., 1922. Chaps. XXV, XXVI, XXVII.

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Lumley, F. E. *The Propaganda Menace*, The Century Co., 1933.

A comprehensive treatment of propaganda, providing chapters dealing with its nature and methods, its many manifestations in modern life, and suggested legislative and educational remedies.

North, C. C. *Social Problems and Social Planning*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932, Chap. 6.

Discussing political, religious, etc., methods of deliberate cultural change the author holds the needed educational method is one creating social understanding and intelligence. Further details are given in Chap. 17.

Odegard, Peter. *The American Public Mind*, Columbia University Press, 1930, Chap. IX.

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Orata, Pedro T. "Farewell to Democracy through Education," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 22 (February 1936), pp. 113-123.

A striking defense of the thesis that the function of education should be to provide training in independent thinking.

Riegel, O. W. *Mobilizing for Chaos*, Yale University Press, 1934, Chaps. IV, V, VI.

Shows how the radio and the press are tinged with nationalistic propaganda.

"Social Change and Education," *Thirteenth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence*, National Education Association, 1935.

Reviews conflicting attitudes of educators and others toward social change and how it is to be influenced.

Todd, A. J. "Social Education and Social Change," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, IX (September 1935), pp. 23-33.

Discusses the part of education in creating the knowledge and social attitudes needed for living in a changing world.

Willey, M. M. and Rice, S. A. "The Agencies of Communication," *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, Chap. IV.

Summarizes data on the growth and status of agencies of transportation, postal service, telegraph, telephone, cable, press, motion pictures and radio.

Wooddy, C. H. "Education and Propaganda," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179 (May 1935), pp. 227-239.

Excellent critical examination of principles which have been suggested at one time or another for distinguishing education and propaganda.

Young, Kimball. *Social Psychology*, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1930, Chap. XXIV.

Systematic analysis of the sociological and psychological factors in public opinion.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In the previous chapter the attempt was made to concentrate attention largely on general attitudes regarding the responsibility in change without stress upon their expression in practice. This, however, inevitably came to the fore at times, especially in the consideration of the problem of propaganda with its threat and promise for planned change. Here our concern is more directly with specific measures which have been proposed for making education a more effective factor in the improvement of society.

PROPOSALS FOR MAKING EDUCATION MORE EFFECTIVE IN SOCIAL CHANGE

Educational Planning. The emphasis upon planning of all sorts in other fields of human activity could hardly have failed to have some expression in education. Both those who believe that the schools should share in the reconstruction of society and those who believe that the educational house should be set in order internally see advantages in the application of planning to this field. And, as in every department of life, there are those who have seized upon the concept as a shibboleth to be used to advertise to others the up-to-date nature of their thinking. For these and other reasons the idea of educational planning has gained great current momentum. Proposals for planning and measures already taken are found on national, state and community levels.

National. It is, of course, not to be implied that educators have never before attempted to look at their problems in the large and to devise programs for improving work. The Committee (of Ten) on the Secondary School Studies and the

Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education which formulated the "Seven Cardinal Principles" represent two of the earlier highly influential policy determining groups. But the characteristics of the current movement come from the acceptance of an even more dynamic relation between schools and social welfare. They also rise out of the new significance and interpretation attached to social planning.

One of the first expressions of this recent interest appeared in the adoption in June 1931 by the National Education Association of a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee "to propose to the Association desirable Social-Economic Goals of America," and to "indicate the materials and methods which the schools of the nation should use to attain these goals." In his first annual report, F. J. Kelly, chairman of this committee, set forth his conception of its function in these words: "The best it can do will be to serve as the median thru which the National Education Association will enlist the aid of the best scholars in the field of the social sciences in determining what is best to teach, and enlist the cooperation of the most forward-looking superintendents, principals, and teachers to determine how best to teach it."¹ This view rested on the beliefs that if the National Education Association was to assume the "leadership and point the way to a new social order" it must provide the next generation with "opinions" on problems of the day and to this end there would be needed a "group of social economic leaders" to meet from time to time to "re-examine the evidences, and restate the social-economic goals for the achievement of which our schools should strive."

The membership of the Committee was reconstituted so as to include students from the fields of law, sociology and educational philosophy, together with two officers of educational associations and the committee chairman from the United States Office of Education. These men were, respectively: Leon C. Marshall, Edward A. Ross, John Dewey, Willard E.

¹ *Proceedings of the 70th Annual Meeting of the National Education Association*, National Education Association, 1932, pp. 208-210.

Givens, Robert C. Moore and F. J. Kelly. This committee in 1933 issued a report in which ten goals were proposed as desirable for this country.¹ As the chairman stated in his own report to the Association these goals were an attempt to provide "a sort of 1933 version in social-economic terms of the Declaration of Independence and of the Preamble to the Constitution." These goals are:

1. Hereditary strength.
2. Physical security.
3. Participation in an evolving culture.
4. An active, flexible personality.
5. Suitable occupation.
6. Economic security.
7. Mental security.
8. Equality of opportunity.
9. Freedom.
10. Fair play.

The Committee made no claim to having listed all the desirable goals, nor did it assert the superiority of its insight; it merely asserted that it had named "issues upon which we believe the more thoughtful people in general agree." Of special interest to students of educational sociology is the treatment accorded to individual-social relationships, a problem which occupied our attention in Chapter III. Although the enrichment of individual personality is accepted as the proper approach of education, due respect is paid to its reciprocal relations with culture in the statement that: "culture moulds personality; and conversely, in personality we find the materials and motive powers that make possible change and improvement in culture." The individual form of statement, however, is insisted upon: "Social and economic policies and practices must be judged by what they do to enrich the lives of individuals. Therefore, the desirable social-economic goals of America are stated in terms of the things we covet in the highest degree for the largest possible number of Americans."

¹ *The Social-Economic Goals of America*, National Education Association, 1933. Also reprinted in the *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23 (January 1934), pp. 6-12.

Since the publication of this report the Committee has been instrumental in the appointment of a sub-committee to study each of the goals and prepare a more extended statement in its defense. Not only has the base for the acceptance of the goals been widened in this way but, through the Journal, the secretary of the Association made the encouragement of their teaching a part of the program of action for 1935-1936. Meantime the Committee has continued to work on the second part of its assignment, namely, the preparation of materials and methods to be used by the schools to attain the goals.

But the application of interest in educational planning on a national scale has gone beyond the work of this committee. The effects of the depression since 1929 upon the schools of the nation led to the appointment in January 1933, by the president of the National Education Association and the president of the Department of Superintendence, of a Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education. Exceedingly active in its first year, this Joint Commission gathered and disseminated information relative to the adverse conditions in schools, studied the financing of education and formulated sound principles in a *Charter of School Finance*, held numerous conferences of citizens and school people all over the country in the aid of schools, solicited federal aid and studied the work of other national committees and agencies dealing with problems pertinent to educational reconstruction.

Functioning to meet the immediate crisis in education, the Joint Commission was increasingly concerned with the need of synthesizing the activities carried on by national educational organizations and committees with a more unified attack on problems, in other words, with the need of planning. Looking to this broader field, enlarged powers for the Commission were approved by the Executive Committees of the National Education Association and the Department of Superintendence and the convention of the latter in 1934. The broadened scope of work definitely mentioned "appraisal of the present educational program" and "long-term planning for such changes in programs"

as may be required to enable our schools to meet as effectively as possible the challenge presented to them by the changing social, industrial, and economic order."¹ Thus what originated as a move by organized education to facilitate school recovery increasingly continued to place the emphasis upon remedying fundamental weaknesses in the educational structure and the planning of a program designed to adapt education to the new social needs.

Two outcomes of these emphases of the Joint Commission may be mentioned which look toward reconstructive planning. One was the work of the Commission in capitalizing or encouraging interest in planning by state authorities. The other was the development of belief, both within the Commission and among other educators, that the possibilities of the work it had begun in appraisal and planning were so great that a new agency should be created to carry it forward. Specific recommendations were made to this effect in the final report of the Joint Commission before it passed out of existence in June 1935. The proposals were favorably acted upon by the Executive Committees of the Association and the Department of Superintendence in this same month.

The new agency, created for a five year period, is known as the Educational Policies Commission and was delegated the following functions:

1. To stimulate thinking and long-term planning within the teaching profession on the highest possible level looking toward continued adaptation of education to social needs.
2. To appraise existing conditions in education critically and to stimulate educational thinking on all levels so that desirable changes may be brought about in the purposes, procedures, and organization of education.
3. To consider and act upon recommendations from all sources for the improvement of education.
4. To make the best practices and their procedures in education known throughout the country and to encourage their use everywhere.

¹ Norton, J. K., "Educational Recovery and Planning," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23 (April 1934), p. 103.

5. To develop a more effective understanding and cooperation between various organized groups interested in promoting educational improvement.¹

Of its fifteen members, four were *ex-officio*, being the presidents and executive secretaries of the Association and the Department of Superintendence. The eleven appointive members were: Cornelia S. Adair, Lotus D. Coffman, George S. Counts, J. B. Edmonson, Frederick M. Hunter, Charles H. Judd, John K. Norton, Payson Smith, George D. Strayer and Willis A. Sutton. The United States Commissioner of Education and the President of the American Council on Education were requested to sit with the Commission as advisory members.

Of interest is the attitude with which it faced its tasks. In a statement by its secretary made at a meeting of State Coordinating Committees in St. Louis in February 1936, it was said that the Commission had "definitely ruled out arbitrary pronouncement and high-pressure methods as means for securing the adoption of its recommendations," and would employ instead such democratic methods as discussion and conferences.²

The projects which by this time it had adopted for immediate lines of action included: familiarizing people with its purposes through articles in educational and lay magazines; making available a list of selected educational issues for use by conventions, discussion groups and forums; establishing a clearing-house for the reports of state and national deliberative committees; establishing cooperative relations with state planning boards and with the National Resources Committee; studying the problems of economic ability and of financing schools in the United States; studying the problem of academic freedom; and formulating a non-technical statement of the purposes of education which would appeal to the masses and awaken their enthusiasm.

¹ "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee," *Proceedings of the 73rd Annual Meeting of the National Education Association*, National Education Association, 1935, p. 889.

² Carr, W. G., "The Educational Policies Commission," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 25 (April 1936), p. 128.

How important this Commission will prove in making education more effective in social change time alone can tell but the character of its membership and its early plans suggest a program equal in activity and energy to that prosecuted by the Committee on Social-Economic Goals of America. In these two bodies organized education has taken important steps for making practical the hope of some national educational planning.

State. In reality, state planning itself is an essential part of any national program, and hope for the latter depends upon cooperative and coordinated work in the several states. Fully aware of this, the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education sought to aid state authorities in attacking their problems of recovery from the effects of depression and of reconstruction. In some states little was being done. In others, school authorities were already in action. In some, the state planning boards created under federal encouragement included education within the scope of their work; in others they did not. Besides the publication of literature and the holding of state and regional meetings, the Joint Commission sponsored in Washington in December 1934 a Conference on State School Legislation and Longtime Educational Planning. Through the four committees of this conference, study was made by representatives from forty-one states of the machinery for a program of state educational planning, the necessity of it in improving the schools, and of the essential financial and non-financial legislation.

Guiding principles for state programs summarize the thinking of workers on this subject. Not only are the plans to utilize as large numbers as possible of school people within a state, but the active participation of "forward-looking" representatives of business, agriculture, labor, the professions, parent-teacher and school board associations. These laymen are to be asked to aid, both in appraising the educational system of the state and in formulating policies and measures for improving it. As in the state school surveys of the earlier years of this

century there is to be the collection and evaluation of pertinent data of experts both from within and from without a state. In particular, studies are to be initiated relating to the extent, purposes and support of public education. Above all, a state's plans should have long-range features; they should not merely seek amelioration of a few patent defects.

Michigan has an Educational Planning Commission constituted and operating in general accord with the above principles. In several states, while similar bodies exist and are to continue over a period of years, the membership is predominantly drawn from school people. Florida, Montana, Nebraska, Pennsylvania and South Dakota are in this group.¹ Rather temporary commissions were created in a number of other states to make a single comprehensive study of the educational redirection needed. Examples of states having used such are Alabama, Arkansas, California, Kentucky, Maine, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Wisconsin.

It is questionable whether, with the return of better financial conditions, barring the emergence of a further incentive, most of the present type of emphasis upon educational planning will not languish. Possibly a new stimulus may be built up in connection with the efforts at national planning.

Community. There is also the proposal made in some quarters that the improvement of the work of the schools in the local community be placed upon a planning basis. In some respects this is merely the application of the new name to what school people have been doing more or less systematically in the past. Under the aegis of the new interest certain individuals have advocated planning on a more comprehensive social basis rather than on a too narrow educational one. There is stress on a thorough-going and cooperative attempt to be participated in by representatives of all groups, to determine all needs of the community and the directions in which reconstruction is desirable. Following this would be the determination of the

¹ Norton, J. K., "Long Time Educational Planning," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23 (December 1934), p. 252.

contributions which the schools could make and the working out of the educational program for effecting them.¹

Academic Freedom. There has already been occasion, in referring to the handling of controversial topics as related to the school's program in the local community or in the realms of economics, citizenship and religion, to call attention to limitations upon freedom of expression of teachers. This becomes one of the great obstacles to the effective contribution of education to a changing society in the eyes of all those who believe in a curriculum dealing with the materials of modern life. The new curriculum can get no farther than the classroom teacher is permitted to go and the latter has even in the past enjoyed little security. If the teacher is to play his part in the redirection of either the school curriculum or of society he will have to be protected from the many sources of opposition and pressure from without the school. Even the mere presentation of social, political and economic issues with the teacher attempting to maintain a neutral position is objected to many times. Thus the establishment of what is termed academic freedom becomes for many educators one of the foundational measures upon which subsequent measures depend.

Feeling on this point has been intensified by the renewed activities of recent years for the passage of state legislation requiring teachers and school officials to take oaths of allegiance to the constitutions of the United States and of the particular state concerned. An earlier period of activity in behalf of such legislation between 1919 and 1923 was successful in seven states, while in another the oath was required of teachers without legislative enactment. Between 1929 and November 1935 thirteen additional states acted favorably upon the law. Such a measure was introduced into legislatures of sixteen states in the latter years. In only ten of the twenty states which have the law are the teachers in private and parochial institutions required to take the oath.

¹ See Mendenhall, J. E., "A High School for the Modern Age," *A Challenge to Secondary Education*, Appleton-Century, 1935, p. 200.

Different motives have prompted the objections raised by those who do not favor such legislation, but by many educators it is felt to be but symptomatic of the strong currents which threaten to stifle the independent exercise of intelligence in the schools. It is regarded as an entering wedge toward making teachers the mouthpieces of whatever political and social doctrines happen to be espoused by those in control of governments. Dictatorships of whatever sort would thus find the machinery ready for use in controlling the educables in the population. It is, of course, not even the constitutions literally to which teachers may be expected to adhere but to the particular interpretations of these documents which are felt to be correct by the lay groups or individuals having a zeal in the matter.

Thus the question of academic freedom which made its appearance in the deliberations of college instructors a few years earlier has come to have increasing significance for public school teachers and officers. It occupies a place in the platform which the National Education Association adopted in July 1934. A section of Part II of this platform reads:

Teachers should have the privilege of presenting all points of view, including their own, on controversial issues without danger of reprisal by the school administration or by pressure groups in the community. Teachers should also be guaranteed the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and the right to support actively organized movements which they consider to be in their own and the public interest. The teacher's conduct outside the school should be subject only to such controls as those to which other responsible citizens are subjected. The sudden singling out of teachers to take an oath of allegiance is a means of intimidation which can be used to destroy the right of academic freedom.¹

The Department of Classroom Teachers of the Association has given special consideration to academic freedom and a summary of the position advanced by its committee on the

¹ *Proceedings of the 72nd Annual Meeting of the National Education Association*, National Education Association, 1934, p. 185.

subject shows the scope given to the term. It is said to include the right of pupils to hear both sides of controversial topics and "to be trained to distinguish fact and opinion" and to search for the truth. It is said to imply the right of a teacher to present both sides of controversial subjects and "to give opinions, including his own, labeled as opinions." The privilege of the teacher to the "same rights accorded to other citizens outside of the classroom" is claimed.¹

Although not with complete unanimity the Association, at its meeting in June 1935, adopted a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee on academic freedom to consist of five members, three of them to be classroom teachers. The functions of this committee are to circulate information regarding proposed legislation inimical to freedom of teaching and to take steps to combat the same, to investigate and report upon cases of dismissal violating the principles of academic freedom, to assist efficient teachers thus ousted, to seek public support for freedom and to cooperate with "other reputable and recognized national organizations" working for the principle of academic freedom.²

Liberally inclined educators regard this action as "most significant," "a strong stand," "an epochal step" provided always the committee is supported in carrying out its duties. Conservatives may feel that there is danger of assuming too much confidence in the knowledge and discretion of teachers, many of whom, it must be admitted, are inadequately prepared themselves in the field of social problems. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the statement of academic freedom adopted in 1925 by the Association of American Colleges it was suggested that the liberty of the teacher to express himself on controversial topics be restricted to his own field of study while in the classroom and that when in public the teacher should, when necessary, take pains to make it clear that he is

¹ Tarbell, E., "Academic Freedom," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 24 (December 1935), p. 280.

² *Proceedings of the 73rd Annual Meeting of the National Education Association*, National Education Association, 1935, p. 208.

expressing only his personal opinions. Practical-minded administrators may regard the creation of the committee on academic freedom as somewhat premature in view of the actual limitations of the types imposed upon teachers by local communities as discussed in Chapter X. It may also occur to the reader that there may be a certain inconsistency on the part of those few who wish to use education for indoctrination in demanding an academic freedom for themselves that will permit them to do the things in the classroom which will deny pupils freedom of opportunity to think.

Feeling upon the subject was if anything more intense than before at the Portland meeting of the Association in June 1936, and it reaffirmed "its position with reference to freedom of teaching and full opportunity to present differing points of view on any and all controversial questions." Further, a resolution was adopted condemning the passage of teachers' oath laws with their direct or implied purpose of abrogating "such civil liberties," and the Committee on Academic Freedom was urged to make thorough investigation of cases where teachers have been "intimidated or discharged for their efforts to teach the truth."¹

Pressure by Organized Education. For several decades organizations of teachers have carried on some activity designed to influence the public, including law-makers, to favorable consideration and action upon their problems and those of education. In the school-growth which has marked the years since 1900 there has been a multiplication of the situations in which school people have felt the need to influence the public and to expand the range of their activities. In this time also teachers have been told that instructing pupils is only part of their work; that schools must be an influence in the life of the community, state and nation for social improvement.

The results of the acceptance of the new conception of the importance of education and of the consciousness that organized

¹ "The Portland Meeting," *The School Executive*, 55 (August 1936), pp. 434-435.

effort might do something about educational needs, may be seen by examination of the activities of associations.

In the larger cities there are vigorous organizations of school people. These have for their general purposes the advancement of education and the cooperative solution of problems. In a study of such voluntary associations in the largest cities in 1930 data were gathered regarding their legislative activities.¹ Replies from 51 associations located in 33 cities of 22 different states showed that 55 per cent of the associations were engaging in activity designed to influence legislation on retirement systems; 37 per cent for salary increases; while next in order came tenure, general educational appropriations, teacher welfare and protection of teachers, and a number of other measures. (A similar study reported by Carter Alexander in 1910 showed that at that time efforts were almost wholly devoted to the economic betterment of teachers.) The means employed included writing to and interviewing legislators, interviewing prominent citizens who might influence legislation, public discussions, surveys of facts and opinion, and community publicity. For the latter, slightly over half the associations reported the use of daily papers, over a third sent out circulars and letters, while almost a third had monthly or annual publications. Among the many other outlets of publicity the radio was used by 12 per cent.

The same picture of political activity—although not called such until very recently—appears in the work of state educational associations, but diversified over an even wider range. According to Staffelbach, in recent decades much of the legislation designed to improve the status of teachers or to improve the educational program of the state “has been influenced, and more than a little has been actually dictated, by teachers’ organizations.”² Furthermore, his study of thirty-three state teachers’

¹ Hoffman, M. D., “Status of Voluntary Teachers’ Associations in Cities of 100,000 Population or More,” *U. S. Office of Education Bulletin*, No. 36, 1930, pp. 20-24.

² Staffelbach, E. A., “Policy-Making by Teachers’ Organizations—State Association Standpoint,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 182 (November 1935), pp. 120-128.

organizations "indicates that teachers are beginning to use their organized influence outside the province of education." This may be seen in the issues found to be receiving support. These issues and the percentages of the thirty-three state associations backing them are as follows: for child labor laws, 90; special public aid for unfortunate members of society, 76; general public library service, 45; laws to protect freedom of speech, assemblage and press, 45; old age pensions, 36; civil service legislation, 30; laws to protect and improve conditions of labor, 30; minimum age laws for women, 21. It will be noted that the issues toward the bottom of the list are distinctly social and somewhat removed from more narrowly educational matters.

There is every reason to think that these groups will become increasingly aware of the power of their organized strength to attain their ends. It is equally evident then that their ends should be intelligently conceived with a view to what can be demonstrated on the basis of the best substantiated criteria to be genuine educational and social improvement and that these ends should not be dictated by self-interest.

The largest of the national organizations in this field is the National Education Association. Since the early days of its history it has sought to use whatever influence it had for the creation of a federal department of education and has supported various bills introduced into Congress to effect this objective. Until the post-war years the Association had never enrolled more than an infinitesimal portion of the teachers of the country and was far more loosely organized and decentralized than even at present.

With an exception or two like that noted above there had been little attempt to influence national legislation. Not until the conditions of the war years seemed to make the developing thinking on the subject more concrete, did there begin to be stress upon improving the economic welfare of school employees. Resolutions also were passed at times dealing with other matters like Americanization, citizenship, rural life problems or suffrage. This same kind of rather diffuse interest in public affairs has

continued down to the present. Variations in the resolutions passed each year are usually conspicuous, these fluctuations in interest often depending upon the activity of committees appointed for special purposes. Since the War resolutions have increased in number and variety so that from 1918 to 1928 inclusive there were no less than 123 different matters recognized in this way, but only on six of these has the Association reaffirmed its position at as many as nine of the eleven conventions.¹ These six concern: an adequate program of physical education, a national department of education, adequate professional training of teachers, retirement allowances for teachers, tenure laws and the eradication of illiteracy. As far as resolutions go, Selle concluded that "the act of adopting the resolution appears to be the only action taken concerning most of the matters dealt with in these formal statements." Be that as it may, the 1934 convention adopted, among others, resolutions favoring federal aid for education, passage of the Child Labor Amendment, the enactment of new tax laws in states "to the end that all forms of wealth shall bear their just shares," elimination of the profits from the sale of munitions, approving the policies of slum clearance and the provision of low cost housing, unemployment insurance for all workers, payment of pensions by states to widowed mothers in need, condemning certain types of motion pictures and the practice of block booking.

Because of the structure of the Association much of its activity is carried out by the executive staff in Washington and its component divisions. Some of the latter, like the Division of Legislative Service, have employed most of the well-known techniques of pressure groups to promote their objectives. Recourse to these tactics was given a great stimulus by the economic depression of the early thirties. Powerful groups were seeking to lessen the costs of operating the schools and the budgets of the latter suffered. It was to meet this situation that

¹ Selle, E. S., *The Organization and Activities of the National Education Association*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 513, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, pp. 85-91.

the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education was created. Opposition from without produced greater unity among school people and attempts were made to build up the strength of organized education and use it to keep the school program intact. The partial successes of this move indicated the potentialities and the chairman of the Joint Commission in his final report wrote that one of the great lessons to be drawn from their experience was the value of professional organization. He advocated better organized and better financed organizations, so that teachers can "make their viewpoints felt on large educational and social issues," so that political leaders can be made to realize that teachers are to be reckoned with on measures affecting the welfare of public education, child labor, social security programs, modernization of tax systems and similar issues. The chairman anticipated the charge that this would be tantamount to converting the teachers of America into another one of the "selfish pressure groups of which we already have too many." He admits the power teachers would have when thus organized would be susceptible to such abuse but thinks it could be avoided.

Among the reasons the same writer gives for teachers entering politics, as it is now frankly called, are: the welfare of schools and children require teachers to be articulate on educational issues; teachers as citizens have the right and duty to be heard; the trend in government makes necessary the use of organized methods in the realm of politics ("governments are increasingly recognizing that minority groups may play a constructive role in the affairs of state"); social action increasingly depends for effectiveness on cooperative effort; and, finally, since other powerful groups oppose the changes in the educational system demanded by modern life, educators must use their organization to promote change.¹

Whether the National Education Association will become more active as a pressure group in matters of general social and

¹ Norton, J. K., "Shall We Enter Politics?" *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23 (November 1934), p. 207.

economic import only the future will show. Except for resolutions, no official statement is forthcoming. Aspiration to use its increasing power on educational issues it now partially admits. The executive secretary of the Association writes that it has supported one fundamental policy of general social and economic importance, namely, "provision of a reasonable equality of educational opportunity throughout the Nation," but that beyond this plank in its platform "the Association has not as a rule developed an aggressive reform policy with respect to general social and economic issues."¹ In contrast with the American Bar Association it has not been active in national political campaigns and does not seek to promote the interests of any candidate or political party. This policy is generally thought to be a wise one for local and state organizations also to follow.

A recent evaluation of the political activities of the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association and the National Education Association concludes that there is no reason for alarm. "In fact, the entrance of these associations into the governmental field," it is held, "whether on their own initiative or by invitation of different governmental agencies, appears to be a very promising way of bringing the expert into the service of the government."²

Among other types of organizations in the field which likewise have an interest in making education more effective in social change is the American Federation of Teachers, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. Starting in 1916 with eight local branches, or locals as they are called, the Federation of Teachers made little progress until about 1927 when membership began to increase; annual gains between that year and 1933 ranged from 27.5 per cent to 1.2 per cent. The year ending May 31, 1934, saw a gain of 75.4 per cent in membership with the number of locals reaching 134. The organization takes the

¹ Givens, W. E., "Policy Making by Teachers' Organizations—National Standpoint," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 182 (November 1935), pp. 129-139.

² Gosnell, H. F. and Schmidt, M. J., "Professional Associations," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179 (May 1935), p. 33.

position that teachers—it considers itself primarily an organization for classroom teachers—face the same problems as other workers in the country and that they should be a constituent part of the entire labor movement. It holds that other groups like the National Education Association are relatively powerless to protect teachers and provide them better working conditions and that in recognizing their common cause with labor both are strengthened. It also has the objective of seeking to modify social and economic arrangements in the interest of the laboring classes. Contrary to statements sometimes made, the policy is against strikes by teachers and the Association has refused to reverse this position thus far. It is not to be inferred that there is absolute unity in viewpoint among all the members but the above appear to represent the actual motives of the organization.

In his report to the 1934 convention the secretary-treasurer enumerated six major purposes that the Federation could serve in the educational program of the nation:

1. First, it can and must develop such a loyalty of teachers to each other that no teacher will accept the position of another teacher who has been unjustly dismissed.
2. To do this it will organize the teachers in such strength that they will determine the standards of their calling and raise these standards to a high level of excellence.
3. It will, through continued group solidarity and intelligent militancy, protect freedom of teachers.
4. It will help its locals to a fuller knowledge and understanding of each other and a fuller cooperation with the social purpose of the American Federation of Teachers.
5. It will establish teaching on a sound basis of adequate compensation and security of tenure in order that only the ablest and most self-respecting may be the teachers of our children.
6. It will work together with other social agencies to build a saner economic world in which social justice will prevail.¹

The social purpose referred to in item six receives some definition in the presidential address made to the convention and

¹ *Report of the Proceedings of the 18th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers*, p. 17, American Federation of Teachers, 1934.

adopted by it.¹ It is asserted that "it has become relatively clear that labor itself comes near to representing the best interests of society as against the interests of the exploiters of society." The work of teachers is said to be the maintenance of the principles of democracy and of representative government as against dictatorship and autocracy and upholding freedom of speech, press and assembly as well as the right of "all workers to organize and to set up standards on social lines." On the other hand, it is said, "we cannot ultimately protect the schools as effective social agencies unless we come to accept the principle of democracy in industry which means the acceptance in some form of the principle of political collectivism." The new solution must be worked out on the basis of the "principle characteristics of the American social set-up."

The Federation clearly wishes to accept the implications of item six quoted above, holding that its function does not stop with the defense of wages, hours and working conditions but is "extended to social, economic, and political questions."² This is amply verified by an examination of the types of resolutions adopted.

The legislative activity of the Federation in these fields is carried out through the Legislative Representative and her office so that there may be unity in effort. Locals only act in conjunction with this office. The range of her activity during the year 1933-1934 is indicated by the types of measures which she is credited with having successfully promoted.³ These include: federal aid for schools, opposition to war expenditures, work in behalf of arms embargo legislation and bills for old age pensions, unemployment insurance, further federal aid for vocational education, judicial reforms in the trial of Indians, an amendment to the municipal bankruptcy bill. In actively opposing the establishment of a federal department of education it takes issue with the National Education Association. The annual reports of the Legislative Representative give a picture of the dynamic and positive program of the Federation.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

The reasons given by some school people for opposing this type of organization in education are summarized by the executive secretary of the Pennsylvania State Education Association.¹ The use of the union technique of coercion is said to be contrary to the accepted methods of education. Alliance with the union movement makes of teaching a trade rather than a profession. Membership by a teacher is called improper and unprofessional in that he thereby aligns himself with one portion of the citizenry against the others. It causes cleavages in the profession since school administrators are not eligible for membership. Finally, it is said to lower the ideals of teaching by appealing primarily to the desire for pecuniary gain and self-interest motives of teachers.

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Other Measures. Most of the above proposals for making education more effective in social change in the several directions which the proponents consider appropriate depend in the last analysis either upon the organized strength of teachers or upon their individual attitudes and activities in putting them into effect. In the latter connection the facilitation of the ultimate objective might come through a redirection of the professional education of teachers themselves. Many institutions training teachers are even now engaged in revising their own programs so that teachers may become better acquainted with modern needs and problems, or possibly in some cases even indoctrinating them with certain viewpoints on social issues. Thus much of the interest in the improvement of teachers today originates in the belief that education could or should be more important in social change.

A belief in the value of the personal contributions of teachers is also shown in the type of proposal which stresses their assuming responsibility as individual citizens for stimulating among other citizens discussion and thought upon social problems. This in reality is a form of adult education which in its own right should be mentioned among measures considered highly essen-

¹ Kelly, J. H., "Who Should Control Public Education?" *Open Book of Kappa Phi Kappa*, XIII (November 1934), pp. 5-6.

tial in promoting progress. After pointing out that it was a misconception to regard adult education as a luxury, the Committee on Social-Economic Goals of America in its 1933 report spoke of the lack of it as resulting in "arrested education," stating "If our democratic experiment fails, it will be in large part because education after leaving schools has been left to chance, to the pressure of interested groups, and to agencies like the press, radio, movie, and drama, managed for commercial ends. The next great step forward in American public education must be an organized movement for continuous, lifelong education in the realities of our common life, economic, political, and cultural."¹

A final illustration of the wide variety of proposals is one advanced on the grounds of what it can do for teachers directly, namely, the credit union. The credit union is essentially a co-operative savings bank or savings and loan society which promotes saving among its members by encouraging regular even if small deposits each week. Interest is paid on the money invested in the union and members may borrow from it at reasonable rates of interest. The latter tend to be lower than the rates charged by the ordinary commercial institutions, or loans can be arranged more easily. Credit unions may be formed either under federal law or under that of the forty-one states legally recognizing them. Members of a union ordinarily must have some common bond between them as, for example, a common occupation, a common employer.

As said previously, teachers are urged to consider the formation of credit unions because of their own needs, as persons of moderate incomes, for access to credit at reasonable cost. It is estimated that there were in 1934 approximately fifty such unions among teachers. They are also urged to promote a knowledge about them and aid other citizens in forming unions on the grounds that this is an eminently worthwhile civic movement which should spread generally throughout the country.² To

¹ *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23 (January 1934), p. 12.

² "Teacher Leadership in Forming Credit Unions," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 24 (May 1935), p. 136.

the extent that these suggestions are followed, school people become active supporters of one aspect of the general cooperative movement and instrumental toward making some change in the saving and borrowing habits of citizens.

POINTS IN NEED OF CLARIFICATION

View of Progress and Relation of Schools Thereto. Much of the thinking and many of the procedures referred to in this chapter are based on the acceptance of the idea that education should have greater conscious concern over the better America which might be—that there should be directed educational effort toward making it better. It will be recognized that in these positions there are involved various theories of progress, some of which are incompatible in part or whole with the findings of the previous chapter regarding the nature of social changes and their improvement. Further, what possibility there is for improved social change rests upon insight as to the goals desirable and knowledge of social processes and techniques for influencing change.

It would seem that one of the first needs is a more factual understanding of the nature, measurement and possibilities of social progress by the rank and file as well as by those who formulate the programs for education. If improvement is relative, if its criteria are still largely subjective and if even this type of improvement can be attained only at the price of studied and laborious effort, the sooner we know this the better.

Source of Social Goals. Goals for the next steps in change are needed. Goals ultimately desirable seem beyond our ken despite the fact that many educators use the term "long-range planning" and a few others seem to regard their conception of the new collective society as having the marks of final desirability. Currently, "long-range planning" for school people seems to refer to a perspective of ten or fifteen years. It was suggested in the previous chapter that the formulation of these more immediate goals would depend upon careful analysis of past

culture-change and the interpretation of it in terms of trends which to present men seem the desirable ones. School people are divided over the question as to whose eyes should be used to learn what changes seem desirable. Some give each teacher individually this responsibility. Some prefer to have groups of school people and educational leaders express current desires for the future. Others say the dominant elements in a culture, whether they should or not, will enforce their own view. Others say that the vision of labor more accurately expresses which changes would be better, etc. Clearly, enlightenment is needed as to where we can look for the necessary insight.

The nature of the function to be performed would seem to indicate that social vision would both be more penetrating and have a wider range if the better minds from various fields of living were represented in the formulating groups. The membership of the Committee on Social-Economic Goals and of some of the planning boards in states indicate partial adoption of this principle. If we genuinely wish progress rather than the promotion of our own educational plans and ideas, will it not be necessary to go regularly outside of educational circles when constituting planning committees either on national, state or community lines?

Personnel Needed. There is a question too whether within the ranks of educators it is always the policy to place the individual with the greatest insight in the positions of leadership where it is required. Is there any reason, for example, to think that administrators are necessarily more likely to have clearer social vision than teachers or vice versa? At present there seems to be such a feeling in one national organization composed chiefly of teachers using administrators for its officers while another prides itself on the fact that administrators are allowed to contribute little to its functioning. Is not the need for such lines of stratification to be minimized and the most gifted individuals for a particular function to be given responsibility, irrespective of their educational positions? Whatever the extent

of hereditary or environmental causation individual differences in special capacity do exist which are not indicated by divisions of labor based upon other capacities. But intelligent leadership of all types there must be to provide vision and to discover and develop procedures.

In one way or another most of the contemporary proposals for making the school more effective depend also upon the individuals whose principal duty is teaching. More is now demanded of classroom teachers than ever before. If the type of considerations given greatest emphasis in this volume are any indication of the future even larger demands will then be made. How can the types of individuals required for this responsibility be found? What is the best education for them? How can work conditions be provided to make them most effective? These are large problems upon the successful solution of which—granted that they will be solved at some future date—any controlled contribution of education to change depends.

Procedures Desirable. Clarification also is needed in regard to the measures and procedures to be used by education. Are more closely knit organizations of school people than are now found essential for effective educational planning? What are the best relationships for state, local and national organizations to have to each other? To what extent should they attempt to influence legislation? What kinds of legislation? How can the dangers of selfishness be avoided?

Granting that the function of education is to prepare pupils for a planning society rather than a planned one, what methods of teaching and materials can be used to accomplish this result? Especially is there the current uncertainty over indoctrination.¹ Not only are great differences found in conceptions of the meaning of indoctrination but there is the plaguing question of whether it is possible to have education without indoctrination. Is indoctrination for the currently accepted views any less undesirable than indoctrination for advanced thinking?

¹ Wooddy, C. H., "Education and Propaganda," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179 (May 1935), pp. 227-239.

Then there are the wide boundaries of adult education toward which educators feel varying degrees of responsibility from a minus quantity to the other extreme of regarding it as "the next great step forward." All manner of commercial agencies or those of interest groups now provide education or propaganda or indoctrination for adults, but to what sources can the average man or woman turn for truthful and reliable information on the problems that perplex? If formal educational opportunities were greatly extended would they find such sources of truth in them or only mirrors of the conflicting changes with which man is surrounded? Is it safe only to prophesy that adult education will be extended when social groups feel a need for it rather than because school people boost it?

Extent of Control of Individuals. One of the problems which reoccurred constantly regarding attitudes and proposals and which more often than not added to confusion was that of the freedom of the individual, whether he be layman or teacher, adult or pupil. On the one hand, it is urged that experts from various fields of knowledge should collaborate in telling what ought to be taught; and on the other, it is urged that the teacher should be untrammelled in the exercise of his freedom to accept or reject as he sees fit and to teach according to his own view. On the one hand, it is urged that pupils should be given the knowledges, habits and attitudes appropriate for a pre-determined but better order; on the other, that they have the right to hear both sides of controversial questions, to be educated to distinguish between fact and opinion and inspired to search for the truth. The latter, at least in phraseology, of each of these alternatives we regard as more in keeping with democratic principles. Yet the essence of any social planning in which education essays to play a part is that adults and youth alike will have to conform to some extent with its outlines. Does that not also mean that there must to some extent be teaching according to the outlines? This may be the only way to preserve our civilization and attain social improvement but does it not inevitably

involve greater social control over individuals? How far it is desirable for this to go is a question that should be answered before there is further application of the planning principle.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Discuss the validity of the statement that the public schools are agencies of the democratic state designed for the preservation of the existing formulas for living.
2. What exceptions can you think of to Todd's assertion that the school of its own volition has never added a single subject to its curriculum? Where does the initiative arise in the dropping of subjects from the curriculum?
3. Devise an experimental technique for comparing the effectiveness of formal instruction in molding attitudes and thinking and the influence of the commercial radio and moving picture programs.
4. One of the most prominent exponents of the disciplinary function of education is W. C. Bagley. Consult his volumes *Education, Crime and Social Progress* and *Education and Emergent Man*, to discover his concept of discipline. How valid does it seem? What changes in schools would be entailed by an effort to secure this discipline?
5. Can the limited social planning now possible be made effective without the national political state taking over all means of mass impression including formal education?
6. Compare the section in the National Education Association platform dealing with academic freedom with the expression of what academic freedom should imply in colleges according to the statement on the subject adopted by the Association of American Colleges at its annual meeting in January 1925. According to which would a teacher have greater freedom? Which appears the sounder to you?
7. Of what importance is adult education? How may one's attitude toward the role of education in social change affect his view toward adult education?
8. Discuss with some teacher in active service whether it would be advisable for you upon beginning teaching to join the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers. Try to discover what are the particular bases for his or her views in the case of each organization.
9. What teachers' organizations exist in your home community?

Learn what you can of the nature of their activities—especially as they concern molding public opinion and influencing legislation.

10. It was estimated in 1935 that approximately 20 per cent or 200,000 of the teachers of the nation were enrolled in the National Education Association, while state associations enrolled not far from 60 per cent. Should these organizations attempt to enroll all who are employed as teachers or only those who meet certain standards as is the case with some other professional groups? Which procedure would result in making them more effective as pressure groups?

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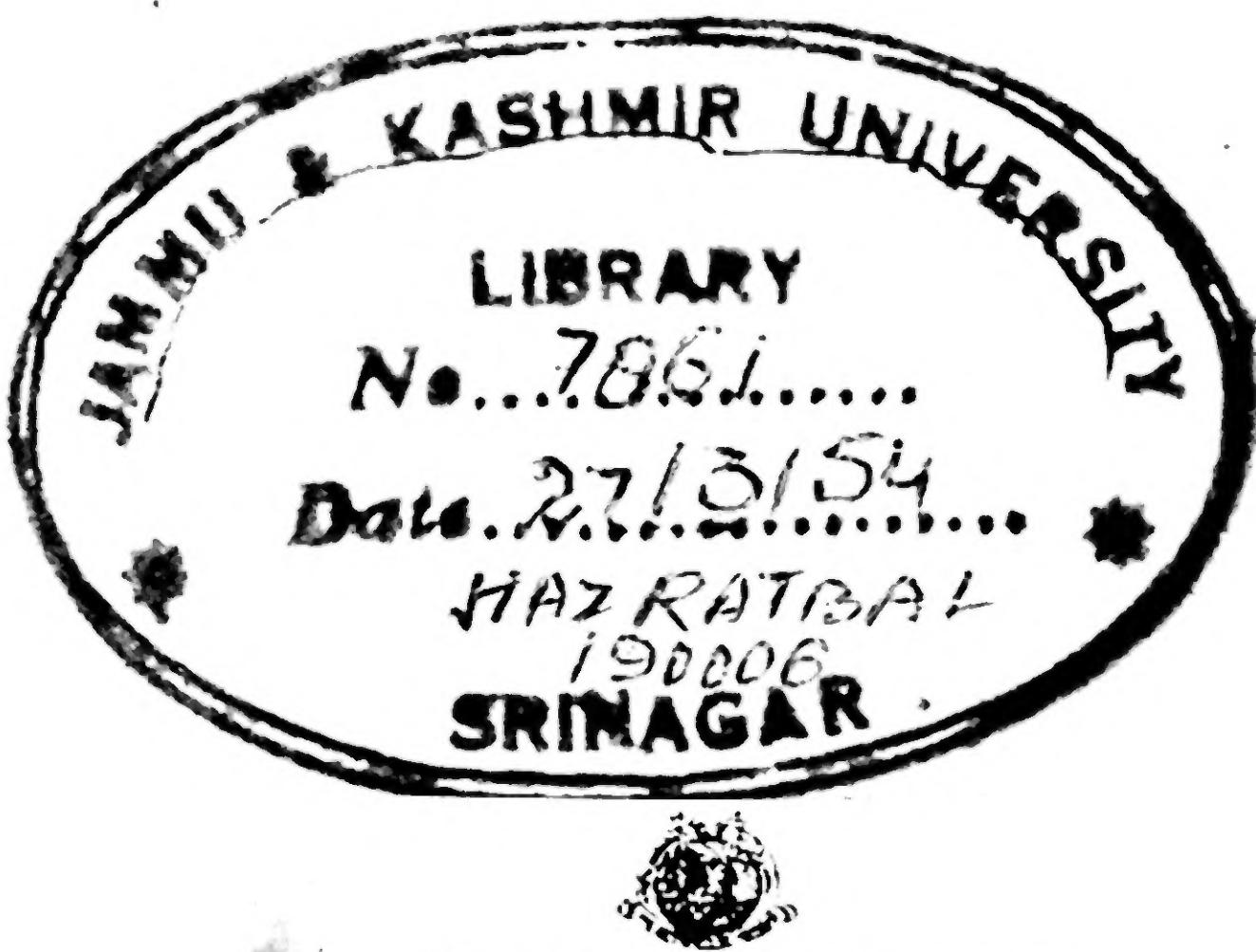
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